THE ART OF ANCIENT IRAN

PRE-ISLAMIC CULTURES

EDITH PORADA

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CROWN PUBLISHERS, INC. NEW YORK

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Title-page: Model of a ceremony from Susa. Middle Elamite, 12th century B.C. *Bronze. Length 60 cm., breadth 40 cm. Louvre, Paris. Cf. p. 60.*

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1962
FIRST PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH, 1965
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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGUE CARD NUMBER: 65-15839

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Mrs. Oliver Gurney, Oxford is responsible for the drawing of Fig. 93. Paul Lampl, New York drew the following Figs.: 27, 29–38, 39, 40, 44, 47–52, 59, 62, 65, 73, 77, 85, 88–90. Greta Leuzinger, Zurich is responsible for the following drawings: Figs. 1–9, 37, 38, 43, 53, 55, 57, 60, 61, 70–72, 81, 83, 84, 86, 87, 91, 92, 94, 95, 97–104, 109, 111–125. Hannes Pixa, Baden-Baden drew Figs. 80, 107 and the map. The following drawings were made by M. L. Randolph, Honolulu: Figs. 54, 56, 58. The author drew Figs. 26, 27. The Hasanlu Expedition furnished the drawings for Figs. 63–64, 66, 67.

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PREFACE

Iranian art created relatively few works of major importance, but rather many groups of objects, usually small and portable, with great artistic appeal. Animals were favoured as subjects. Their bodies were often transformed into severely formal compositions which nevertheless possess a mysterious life of their own. In them the beholder enjoys pure form and its enlivenment. A large number of the 61 colour plates of this book show such animal representations — boar, ibex and lion — from the various periods of ancient Iranian art.

The small number of plates makes it impossible to give a detailed survey of Iranian art from the beginnings to the advent of Islam. For that reason I have limited myself to discussion of those features of Iranian art which seem to have endured through the centuries. To that end an effort was made to choose as far as possible works with similar motifs: mostly animals, but also demonic combinations of animals and man. The most persistent motif is that of two-horned animals flanking a tree. The variant renderings of this and other motifs from the prehistoric period to Sasanian times provide a survey of the changing styles and of their basic traits.

As yet the knowledge of Iranian art is uneven, as is the interest in its various phases. While painted prehistoric pottery has been excavated in many different places in western and eastern Iran, the most spectacular finds of metal-work have been made in western Iran, especially in the region south-west of the Caspian Sea. Some phases of Iranian art are more fully illustrated in this book than others: prehistoric pottery, Elamite art of the late second millennium B.C., followed by a brief section on the Luristan bronzes. The last I consider to have been produced in part through stimuli received from Elamite art. Many objects from Hasanlu are illustrated thanks to the generosity of Robert H. Dyson Jr. These illustrations should be useful because the finds of Hasanlu provide a firmer basis for dating related material than any discoveries of earlier excavations in Iran. Also represented in the illustrations are two of the remarkable finds made at Marlik, which have enriched the knowledge of Iranian art with a hitherto unknown phase belonging to the end of the second millennium B.C.

Though the chapters on Achaemenid and Sasanian art have most of the illustrations, these are nevertheless merely *samples* of the rich remains now known from these periods.

Precise determination of the periods and of the local manifestations of pre-Achaemenid art such as the Luristan bronzes is still a matter of discussion, for modern excavations in Iran began as late as 1931–32 with the initial work of Georges Contenau and Roman Ghirshman at the pre-Achaemenid site of Tepe Giyan. The result of the work at this site was, for the first time, a relative dating of the prehistoric cultures of central western Iran. Before that, excavations in Iran — one must include Susa — were little more than unsystematic treasure hunts. Today there are scientific excavations carried out by different nations working with the Archaeological Service of Iran. Every summer excavations fill out a little more of the picture of ancient Iranian art and history.

In a field in which scholarly work has just begun, exchange of views with persons of varied knowledge and experience yields the most valid results. Thus the chapters of this book contain not only my own ideas and those accepted from Robert H. Dyson Jr. and Charles K. Wilkinson, but also those of other colleagues like P. H. von Blanckenhagen, Vaughn E. Crawford, Marc J. Dresden who very kindly consented to contribute to the glossary the paragraphs characterizing the Iranian gods, Robert Göbl, Jacques Duchesne Guillemin, Evelyn B. Harrison, Helene J. Kantor, Machteld J. Mellink, George C. Miles, Morton Smith, Ehsan Yar Shater.

Also some of my students contributed to the text of the present book. Nancy Waggoner did the chronological chart for the Seleucid and Parthian periods, Deborah Thompson for the Sasanian period. Some of the ideas expressed by Maurits N. Van Loon in his dissertation, *Urartian Art*, have been incorporated in the text.

I am responsible for the contents of this book but Robert H. Dyson Jr. contributed important suggestions to chapters I and II and VI to X, especially to the chapter on the finds from Hasanlu in which he incorporated knowledge gained by excavations at the site since the text of the original German version of the book was written. He also contributed the comparative charts of painted pottery and the original version of the chronological chart of the pre-Achaemenid period, which has been somewhat expanded in the present edition. In all this and in the drawings from Hasanlu here reproduced, Maude de Schauensee gave valuable technical assistance. Charles K. Wilkinson made important suggestions for chapters XII to XV. Moreover, I have quoted extensively from his articles in the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Such quotations from articles by people who have worked long and lovingly with the objects which they publish render the qualities of the object more faithfully than a reworded description by a writer who has not concentrated as intensely on the particular work of art.

Moreover, I have learnt a great deal from my frequent visits to the ever hospitable department of ancient Near Eastern art at the Metropolitan Museum, of which Charles K. Wilkinson, now my colleague at Columbia University, was the Curator. I should also like to acknowledge here the active help and valuable suggestions of Prudence Oliver Harper, Assistant Curator in the department, and the friendly assistance of Beatrice Bodenstein.

Obtaining many of the colour photographs and checking measurements of many of the objects in museums and private collections were possible only through the help and special kindness of the curators and owners of the respective collections. I want to thank them all for their great assistance. In particular, acknowledgment is made to R. D. Barnett, Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum, London, and E. Sollberger, Assistant Keeper; Caroline Dosker, Assistant Registrar, University Museum, Philadelphia; André Parrot, Conservateur en Chef, Musée National du Louvre, Pierre Amiet, Conservateur, and Mlle. Lucienne Laroche; Madame Selma Moghadam, Archaeological Museum, Teheran; and Professor E. O. Negahban, University of Teheran, for permission to reproduce some of the works of art from Marlik.

Mr. and Mrs. Werner Abegg, André Godard, Nasli Heeramaneck, Mr. and Mrs. Alastair B. Martin, the late Khalil Rabenou, Mme. Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, and the late Anna Maria Voss-Hahn are sincerely thanked here, and also my dear friends to whom I owe permission to reproduce Plates 20, 48 and 49. I should also like to thank W. B. Trousdale for permission to reproduce his beautiful photograph of the Taq-i Bustan hunting relief as Plate 57.

Paul Lampl, my friend and collaborator in other books and articles, contributed his sensitive and reliable drawings of seal impressions and of some other objects.

The majority of the drawings, however, were made by Elsy Leuzinger, who produced them with much devotion under great pressure of time for the German edition. Errors which were made then unfortunately could not all be corrected in the present edition.

The book was initiated by a trip to Iran which I was able to take in the summer of 1960 on a fellowship of the American Council of Learned Societies at the invitation of Roman and Tania Ghirshman. The photographs of landscapes were made on trips to Luristan, Azerbaijan and Fars with my undauntable and faithful friend Happy Scully, to whom I owe much of the success of the trip and of the photographic work. This was done in part at the Archaeological Museum in Teheran with the kind permission of its administration.

I am most grateful to the English publishers, especially to Anthony Forster, for having generously given me enough time to transform the sketchy German version of the book, which was written mostly from memory without the benefit of a library, into the more solid English text, for which I could verify my sources and in which I could incorporate the most recent results of explorations in Iran. I also want to express my deep gratitude to Gerard Holle for having shown unmatched patience in waiting for the English text of the book and great generosity in permitting me to add new material to the English edition.

In writing the text I had in mind the students and interested persons with whom I have had the good fortune of being associated at Columbia University. I thought especially of Arthur M. Sackler who, though not himself a scholar in the field of ancient Iranian art, is doing much to further its studies at Columbia by making an extensive collection available to us. I hope he and others of similar interests will find the book useful.

The first version of the book (published in Germany) was written in the Austrian mountains during my father's last illness. It will for ever be tied in my memory to his selfless interest in my work.

EDITH PORADA

Columbia University, April 1964

I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT IRAN

The historical development of ancient Iran and of its art was largely influenced by the geographical conditions of the country. Iran lies between the Caspian Sea in the north and the Persian Gulf in the south, between Iraq, ancient Mesopotamia, in the west and, in the east, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has a common border with Iran across the north to the point where the Turkish border runs down through Azerbaijan in the north-west. The modern frontiers of Iran as a political unit correspond only in a very limited way with those which existed at the time of the country's greatest political and cultural expansion, in the Achaemenid and Sasanian empires. In some instances, however, some of the boundaries follow natural features which divided and also protected the inhabitants of Iran from their neighbours in antiquity just as they do today. One such border runs southward through Baluchistan in the east, where mountains and deserts present obstacles to easy communication. Another, the Zagros range, separates northern Iraq from north-western Iran except for the road which winds through Kurdistan over mountain passes and down through the Diyala valley into the Mesopotamian plain. In other areas access to Iranian territories is much easier, as in the south-west where the Khuzistan plain forms an extension of the Mesopotamian lowlands.[1] Today Khuzistan is an important oil-producing area, and there is good communication by rail, car and boat from the southern Iraqi town of Basra to the refinery of Abadan and other points. In antiquity Khuzistan was a very fertile region. Commercial and political contacts with Mesopotamia were close, cultural influences were intense and often reciprocal. Even today many inhabitants of Khuzistan resemble in appearance the Arabs of southern Iraq.

Borders

As in Khuzistan so too in the north-east no difficult mountain barriers prevented the influx of peoples from the steppes of Central Asia. Repeated incursions of foreign groups came from this direction in historical times. Such groups as the Seljuk Turks or the Mongols subsequently took over political leadership in the entire country. We may assume that similar incursions also occurred in prehistoric times. These may have followed the great trade-route which is known in historic times to have come from Central Asia through the 'outer Iranian' towns of Samarkand, Bukhara, Merv, which are today in the Soviet Union, to Meshed, in modern Iran, from there to Raghes, near Teheran, then by way of Hamadan and Kermanshah to north-eastern Mesopotamia, in the valley of the Diyala, which leads to Baghdad on the Tigris. In the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, traders probably travelled upward along the green banks of the two great streams, especially the Euphrates, into Syria. No doubt this route or one much like it, which follows river courses and traverses mountain ranges at obvious passes, was already travelled in prehistoric times. There was probably also a more direct northern route of communication between Syria and north-western Iran, to judge by the Iranian or Syrian affinities of some of the finds made in northern Mesopotamia, affinities which are not shared with the more isolated south of Mesopotamia.[2]

Trade-routes

As important as the roads which brought foreign influence into the country were the mountainous areas which provided a refuge for peoples fleeing from invasions for a brief or permanent stay in the security of their mountain strongholds. The point has recently been made that 'the plains were the melting-pots

Areas of refuge

of various peoples while the mountains provided isolated areas where various religious beliefs (or heresies), old traditions and customs could be maintained in comparative isolation from the great areas of history'.[3] The surprising survival of motifs and techniques in Iranian art over many centuries, and even millennia, may be explained by the traditions maintained in these refuge areas. An example of such an area is seen in the mountain valleys of western Pakistan in a region formerly called Kafiristan or 'Land of the Infidels'. Horses of an ancestor statue in a graveyard in the Rumbur valley wear ornaments which are very similar to those seen on Assyrian reliefs and which also resemble finds of such ornaments made in Iran in Luristan and at Ziwiye in Kurdistan.[4]

The mountains and plains of Iran, which have thus determined much of its character, may now be described in somewhat greater detail. The centre of the Iranian plateau is surrounded by high mountains which cause the rain-clouds to discharge most of their moisture before reaching the two salt deserts of the interior. The foothills and plains on the outside of this ring of mountains therefore include cultivable areas, although even these suffer at times from lack of water.

In summer the climate in the plains is oppressively hot, and in the lowlands often humid as well. Most of the settlements are villages; larger towns are relatively few in number because of the lack of water. Water is thus the most urgently desired element in Iran, and we may expect to find a reflection of this need and desire for water in ancient art.

Mountain valleys

Only the mountain valleys have more water and a pleasant climate from spring to autumn. One of the most important such areas is that of the Zagros mountains with its numerous parallel chains running from the south-east to the north-west. Between these chains lie extensive fertile valleys. Today the southern part of the Zagros is called Luristan. On the slopes of the now denuded mountains once stood green forests of oak, while lower down in the valleys wheat and barley are grown.

Because of the heat and drought in the plains, horses and cattle must be driven to the higher pastures of Luristan in the summer. As a result one part of the population leads a semi-nomadic existence which is quite different from that of the people settled in the towns. Friction between the two groups of the population has occurred through the centuries, but a change of living habits, from tribal to village life and *vice versa*, probably was performed with greater ease than our set pattern of urban life would lead us to imagine. Other factors in permanent settlement were political stability and physical security. It is not inconceivable, for example, that there were more permanent settlements in Luristan in antiquity than there are today.

Favoured regions south-west of Caspian Sea

The most favoured part of Iran lies along the Caspian Sea in the modern provinces of Gilan and Mazanderan. These provinces are separated from the dusty plains of the south by the Elburz mountains, the highest point of which, Mount Demavend, can be seen from afar. The coastal plain bordering the Caspian Sea has luxuriant vegetation and a humid tropical climate in summer, whereas further inland, and somewhat higher up, a site like Marlik, where the now famous tombs with their gold and silver treasures were found, enjoys an invigorating climate overlooking a valley with rice-fields at the bottom and barley on the hills above. Within the same area fruit trees range from pomegranates to apples. Herds of hump-backed cattle are kept, and at night wild boars burrow through the fields.

The western ranges of the Elburz chain extend into Azerbaijan, in the centre of which is the salt lake of Urmia, also called Lake Rezaiyeh. In flying over this north-western Iranian landscape one has the impression of looking down on a pale mountainous desert, yet this is the most productive and most densely populated part of the country. The plains that lie between the mountain ranges produce cereal crops and vegetables and those water-melons which so often provide the only available refreshment for the eternally thirsty summer traveller.

Fertile areas of Azerbaijan

To the east the Elburz chain forms the hilly ranges of Khorasan, the granary of Iran. Further to the south-east the country is only intermittently populated, and the desert encroaches even on some of the towns and villages still established there. It is one of the areas in which peoples may have sought refuge, for they would scarcely have selected this hot and arid region for any other reason. These remarks, however, do not apply to Seistan, where Lake Hamun and the Helmand river provide some means of irrigation. Torrid heat reigns for many months of the year in Seistan, and a hot wind is said to blow for 120 days. It seems difficult to believe that climatic conditions were the same when a palace and temple complex was erected at Kuh-i Kwadja in Lake Hamun in the early centuries of the Christian era, and recent archaeological surveys in the area show that it once had numerous settlements.[5]

Mineral resources

Iran is, and was, largely an agricultural and stock-breeding country, although it possesses numerous mineral resources, as, for example, the oil found in the Zagros ranges. Copper, which was used in large amounts in the second and early first millennium B.C., must have been plentiful in that region, but it is not being mined there now.[6] Stone and wood were surely exported to Mesopotamia, and there was also some trade in tin and copper, though most of the latter metal seems to have been shipped from some other source to Mesopotamia through Dilmun, today the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf.[7] Bluish-green turquoise, blue lapis lazuli and red carnelian were found in the easternmost part of Iran and in what is today Afghanistan. These stones were traded from Iran through Mesopotamia and Syria across sea and desert into Egypt.

Trade

In the earliest times trade was probably limited to objects passed from hand to hand rather than carried in large quantities by merchants in organized groups or caravans. In the earliest levels of excavations of Iranian villages, however, occasionally some stones and pottery types occur which cannot be of local origin. These must have come through trade, sometimes from a considerable distance. Perhaps we should not underestimate the spirit of adventure and desire for material gain which may have already motivated intrepid traders in the New Stone Age.

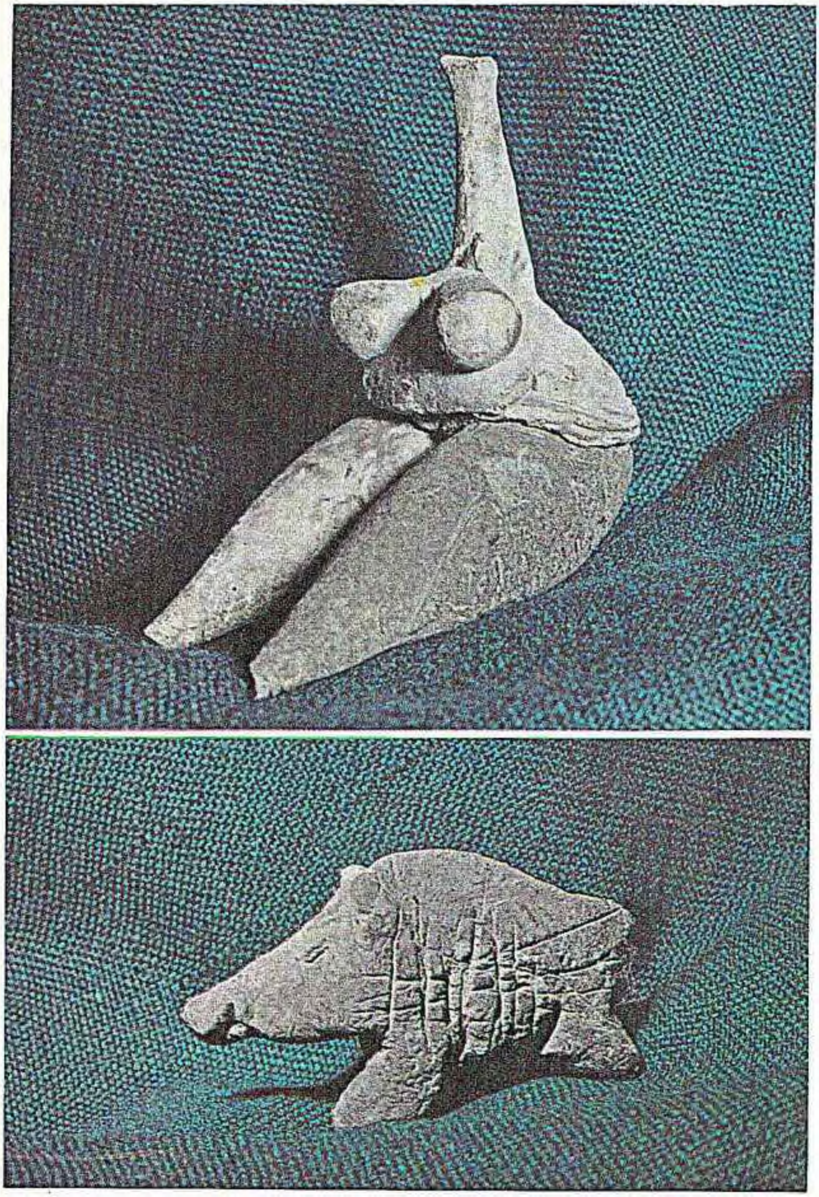


Plate 1 – Above: 'Venus' of Tepe Sarab, Neolithic period, about 6000 B.C. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height of the seated figure 6.15 cm, length of the legs 6.75 cm, width at the hips 3.45 cm.* Below: boar from Tepe Sarab. Same period as the 'Venus'. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Length 5.6 cm, height 3.1 cm, diameter of body 1.6 cm. Cf. pp. 21, 43.*

II. THE BEGINNINGS OF ART

CLAY FIGURES

The earliest objects found in Iran which manifest the desire to express an idea by forms that are effective and perhaps even pleasing are clay figurines found in the excavation of a Neolithic village at Tepe Sarab near Kermanshah. Two of these, which were most carefully executed, are here reproduced. One is a female figure called here the 'Venus' of Tepe Sarab; the other is a little boar.

Female figurine

PLATE I ABOVE

The female figurine is represented seated with its legs stretched out. Buttocks, thighs and legs are summarized in club-like forms which taper toward the end. Each 'leg' has an oblique groove on the side, perhaps meant to indicate the division between leg and thigh. The ends of the club-like forms are broken off, but it is unlikely that the feet were separately shaped. At most there may have been a line separating the end from the rest of the form and indicating the ankle-joint. The upper part of the body, in which the arms are not indicated, is shaped like a broad cone from which the tall neck rises as a steeper and much narrower cone, ending in a short, slightly lengthened horizontal ridge with a rounded edge. The pear-shaped breasts project from the cone of the body approximately at the inception of the neck. One may note that the figurine is put together from several single parts and that the shape of the legs is not unlike that of the breasts, which gives a certain visual unity to the sculpture.

The abstraction of the rendering suggests at once that there was no intention here of showing a specific individual; instead, the stress was placed on the general female characteristics, the breasts and thighs, which are obviously meant to express ideas of fertility. Numerous fragments of figurines of this type and also much plainer ones were found at Tepe Sarab. Other such female figurines with more or less schematized forms were found in the remains of the Early Village Cultures of the Near East (about 6000–4000 B.C.) from Tepe Sarab in Iran to Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar in Turkey.[1] They must have had a specific meaning which we can understand and render only in the most general terms: there undoubtedly existed a belief in sympathetic magic according to which fertility and wealth could be increased by effective renderings in sculpture and painting of the objects associated with them. Thus art was an instrument capable of exerting influence upon nature, man and perhaps even god — though for this early period we cannot assume the existence of concepts of anthropomorphic deities similar to those later known in the cultures of the ancient Near East.

Clay figure of boar

PLATE I BELOW

The second figurine from Tepe Sarab represents a boar which is rendered very naturalistically, in contrast to the abstract form of the Venus. The legs are rendered in the simplest way, by pressing together and bending the clay into more or less angular shapes. Yet they create the impression of an animal in rapid movement. The irregular crossing lines on the body may represent bristles, but more likely, and more in keeping with renderings elsewhere, they indicate the wounds received from the weapons of the huntsman. Whatever the significance of this detail, it seems likely that the figurine was made to assure in some way future success in the hunt of the boar. This magical, or should we rather say 'practical', meaning of art for the people who desired these objects, and for those who executed them, appears to have survived in Iran until the Sasanian period.

BONE HANDLES

FIG. I

At the same time the desire to decorate an object so as to enliven its appearance should not be disregarded. The bone handle of a flint knife found in a very early level of the excavations at Tepe Sialk near Kashan might be interpreted in this manner. The handle shows a man in what later was the Persian posture of greeting, bowing from the hips with arms crossed. The head may be covered by a round cap of a type still worn today, but the face is chipped off. He wears a kilt rolled up at the waist. The separation of the legs is indicated by a shallow groove in front, below which the feet are shown by a very slight projection. Below the feet was a deep groove for the flint blade, which is not preserved. Other handles made of bone from Tepe Sialk have plain animal heads. We do not know whether these handles were made for magical purposes or merely for the pleasure of decorating. In either case a convincing rendering of human and animal forms has been achieved here as at Tepe Sarab by the simplest means.

POTTERY

Pottery, which appeared in Iran early in the Neolithic Age, provided a cheap substitute for carefully ground stone vessels and less permanent wood and skin containers. It satisfied the need for a variety of such containers in shapes ranging from drinking-cups to cooking pots and storage jars. Many of the vessels excavated in prehistoric sites are therefore utilitarian in nature with thick walls and little or no decoration.

From the beginning, however, the Iranian potter produced some decorated wares. Soon a whole range of fine pottery developed with local styles of decoration based on the ingenuity of the potter, who was inspired by materials and themes already established in his culture and by the stimulus provided by the natural forms of the surrounding countryside. The new medium, pottery, provided the widest range of creative opportunity. Not only could the plastic material be formed into a variety of shapes but its colour could be changed by changing the method of firing and its surface could be decorated by impressing or painting patterns on it. It is scarcely surprising that for over two thousand years, from about 5500 to about 3000 B.C., the shaping and painting of pottery was one of the principal artistic activities of the villagers of Iran. Even after 3000 B.C., the approximate date by which the first truly urban civilization had arisen at Susa in south-western Iran, the production of painted pottery continued in the villages of some areas for centuries.

A study of the art of Iran requires that only pottery representing high points in the artistic production of the country be mentioned here. It is to be understood, of course, that such selected pottery by no means reflects the entire state of the ceramic industry in any given village culture.

The relevance of early pottery to the general development of art has been pointed out by Sir Herbert Read, who said: 'Pottery is at once the simplest and the most difficult of all arts. It is the simplest because it is the most elementary; it is the most difficult because it is the most abstract.' And he continues: 'Judge the art of a country, judge the fineness of its sensibility by its pottery; it is a sure touchstone. Pottery is pure art; it is art freed from imitative intention. Sculpture, to which it is most nearly related, had from the first an imitative intention and it is perhaps to that extent less free for the expression of the will to form than pottery; pottery is plastic art in its most abstract essence.'[2]

The case for pottery is thus presented in a somewhat exaggerated form and without due consideration of the limitations imposed on the potter by his craft and by the purpose of the objects which he fashioned. Nevertheless, Read fur-

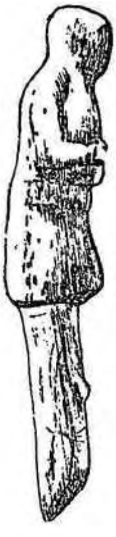


FIG. 1 – *Carved bone handle for a flint implement. Tepe Sialk, Period I. Archaeological Museum, Teheran.*

nishes arguments for a consideration of pottery beyond that of archaeological chronology and the study of the diffusion of ceramic traits from one region to another. The latter two studies, however, provide our only guide to the arrangement of early Iranian cultures in space and time, since written sources are lacking for most regions until the middle of the first millennium B.C. — except at Susa, where Mesopotamian influence caused an output of cuneiform texts from the third millennium onward.

Pottery as a guide to history

The limited extent of systematic archaeological investigation of Iran, and in several instances its poor quality, makes an outline of ceramic and consequently stylistic development highly tentative. Nevertheless, the broad outline for the piedmontal area of the central plateau and the lowland around Susa is discernible, as well as more recently that of early settlements in Azerbaijan.

In the mountain arc surrounding the central desert, reaching approximately from Persepolis and Kerman around to Teheran and Meshed, several early sites have been investigated which show a similar type of coarse buff-brown handmade pottery. The clay contains a great deal of chopped straw used as a tempering agent to prevent cracking while drying and firing. Surfaces were commonly given a lustrous finish by over-all burnishing. In several excavated sites, such as Tall-i Bakun near Persepolis, and the Belt and Hotu caves, near Beshar on the Caspian shore, this ware, sometimes called soft ware because it crumbles easily, has been found to precede more decorated wares painted black on a red or buff ground. At two other early sites of importance, Tepe Sialk near Kashan and Cheshm-i Ali near Teheran, similar soft ware occurs without decoration along with the later painted pottery. Closely related plain wares associated with painted pottery also occur in the early sites of Tepe Sarab near Kermanshah, in basal Tepe Giyan near Nihavend, and at Hajji Firuz Tepe in southern Azerbaijan. This extended enumeration of sites bearing a closely related type of pottery becomes interesting when it is realized that similarity in pottery implies contact between villages. In some way the knowledge of how to make pottery from clay mixed with chaff temper spread — whether by trade or by some other means is unknown. Nor is the centre of the earliest pottery manufacture in the Near East known, for the Iranian samples are as yet insufficient to suggest that they represent the sites where pottery was invented.

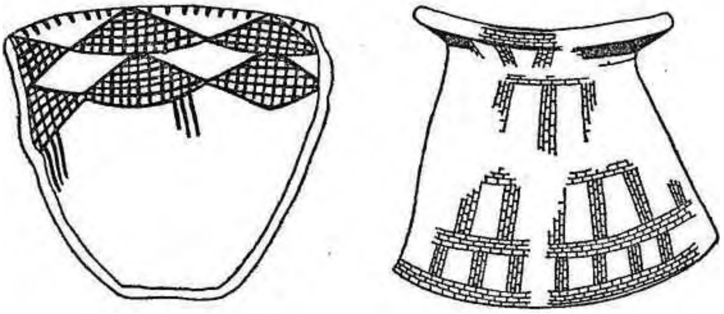
Coarse pottery

More distinctive of early Iranian art than the more primitive pottery are the Chalcolithic painted wares which developed on the plateau and also in the western mountains. Their distribution coincides on the one hand with the agricultural zone around the northern end of the central piedmont and on the other with major agricultural valleys in the Zagros. In the central area they have been found at sites near Kashan, Qum, Saveh, Rayy, Tepe Hissar Damghan and Nishapur, as well as on the Caspian coast at Hotu cave. In the Zagros they occur in the north at Hajji Firuz Tepe and Dalma Tepe in the Solduz valley of Azerbaijan; near Kermanshah they are found at Tepe Siahbid, and in the plains of Pasargadae and Persepolis we may mention Tall-i Bakun and Tall-i Nokhodi,[3] a new site. The history of one of these regional developments in painted pottery is best recorded at Tepe Sialk, where the earliest phase is one of purely abstract decoration. Typical of this stage are simple geometric patterns like the lozenges painted in black on a red ground inside the deep fragmentary bowl seen in Figure 2. Hatched and cross-hatched lozenges, zigzags and undulating lines were often used in groups of four, first on the inside and later on the outside of bowls. A second ware used a buff slip as the ground for a delicate type of panel

Painted pottery

Sialk I
Linear patterns on red or buff ground

FIG. 2



Figs. 2 and 3 – *Left: deep bowl of brown clay with dark red slip, decorated on the interior with lozenges in black mat paint. Tepe Sialk, Period I. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Right: pot stand of brown clay with cream-coloured slip on which a delicate frame-like pattern is painted in black. Tepe Sialk, Period I.*

FIG. 3 pattern which may have been derived from basketry. All of the geometric designs are characterized by the extent to which they appear as net patterns imposed upon the background, which thus forms an integral part of every design. Only a few patterns composed of solid black triangles occur. The finer pottery of this Sialk I period also had its distinctive shapes. One of these was a deep bowl
FIG. 4 with a narrow flat base from which the walls flare out and then change to a more vertical direction. The same basic form, but with the shoulder placed higher in the bowl, was still used in the third period of Sialk about a thousand years later. Another early Sialk form which has been associated with later shapes by the excavator, R. Ghirshman, is the open bowl on a large foot. The walls are much thicker than those previously described. Vessels of both types were covered with a buff slip and decorated with a panelled pattern. Radio-carbon tests indirectly suggest a date of around 5000 B.C. for this early phase on the plateau.

We speak here of one *phase* because there is consistency in the pottery found in the excavated layers or levels, of which there were five in Period I at Sialk. The first yielded no walls, but the other four present four subsequent levels of construction of *pisé* walls, which correspond to four levels of occupation. When the pottery changes, when new forms of decoration, new colours, new shapes appear, it is assumed that a new period or phase has begun. Such changes may have been brought about by the addition of a new element in the population, or they may have been independently evolved. The latter seems unlikely when a change in pottery is accompanied by changes in the other remains such as building materials and methods. Such changes occurred between Periods I and II at Sialk when the *pisé* walls of Period I were replaced by the mud brick of Period II and

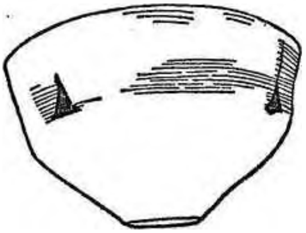
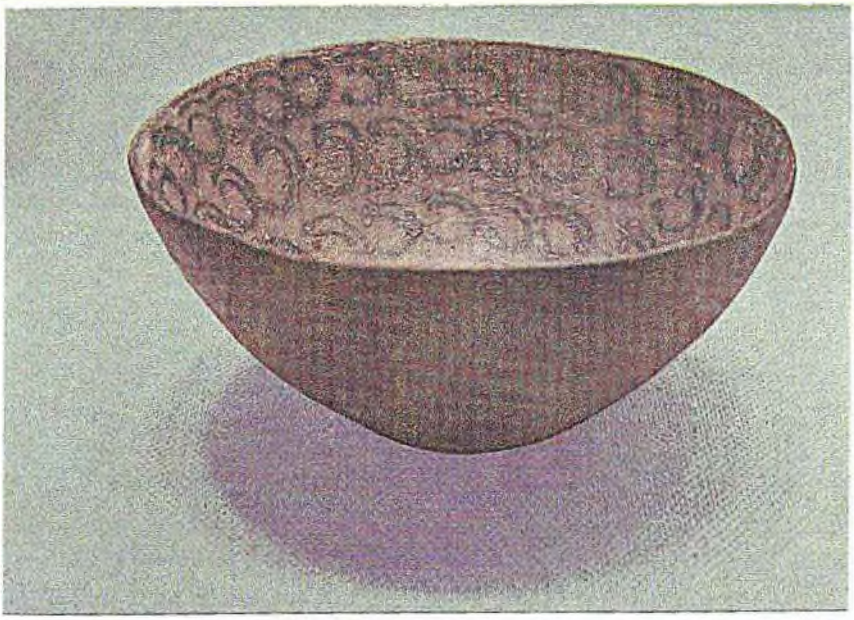


Fig. 4 – *Shape of the fine ware. Tepe Sialk, Period I.*



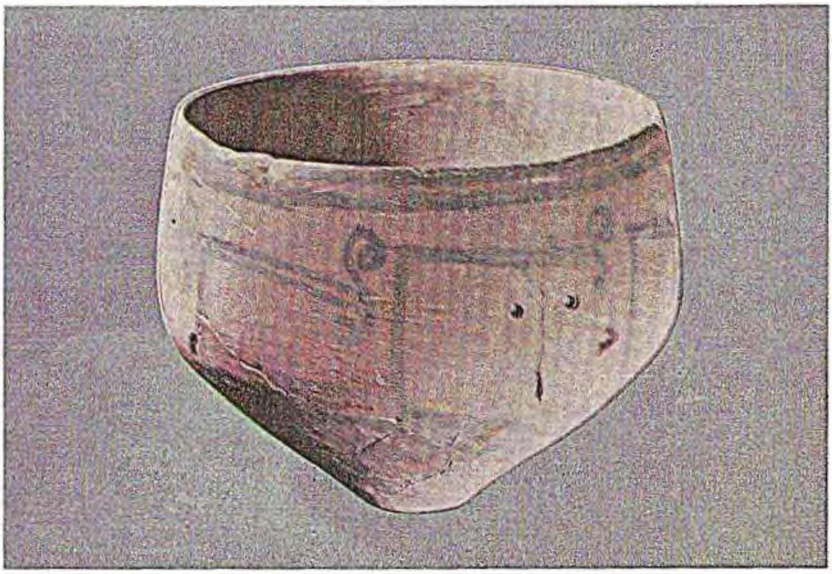


PLATE 2 – Painted bowls from Cheshm-i Ali. Period of Sialk II, about 4000 B.C. Above: *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Height 6 cm, diameter 12.7 cm.* Below: *University Museum, Philadelphia. Height 14.2 cm, diameter 16.5 cm. Cf. p. 26.*

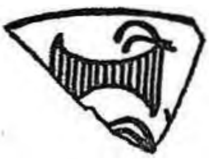


FIG. 5 – *Example of the transformation of a geometric pattern into an organic one. Potsherd of Tepe Sialk, Period II.*

Sialk II
Over-all patterns on red ground

FIG. 5

PLATE 2

the pottery of Period II appeared, which is more evolved than that of Period I. It is thin-walled, generally fired a brick red, and contains less straw than the foregoing wares. Patterns now expand. The interiors of deep bowls are divided into segments of different design or are covered by over-all designs. Often the pattern consists of geometric forms and lines so combined as to suggest organic forms. Most distinctive of this new departure are ibexes obtained by adding two short curved lines as horns to a form composed of two semicircles with the space between filled by vertical hatching. A bowl in the Metropolitan Museum, with linked ibex horns in a delicate pattern inside, is a fine example of the style of Period II which has been found at numerous sites other than Sialk — for example, at Kara Tepe in Shahriyar province west of Teheran, where an almost identical bowl was discovered.[4]

Sialk III
Animal forms and complex compositions

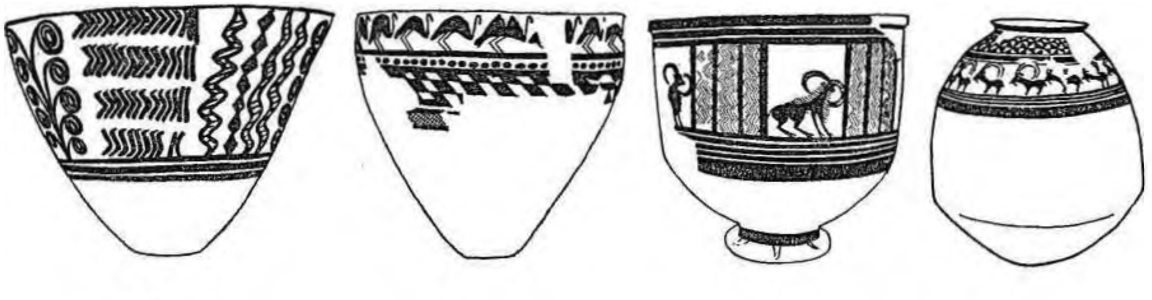
FIGS. 6a–d

FIG. 7

The third period at Sialk witnessed the emergence of more naturalistic animal forms than before and the combination of motifs into more complex compositions. By the middle of the period vertically and horizontally directed motifs had appeared. The vertical ones consisted of four elements: superimposed volutes, horizontal 'bird' chevrons, horned lozenges and vertically placed snakes. Horizontal motifs consisted of geometric forms like chequer-boards, but the more interesting vessels have rows of animals, felines, birds or a snake. At the end of the period horned animals are seen, first in panels, then in cursorily executed rows. Man appears fairly frequently with triangular thorax and summarily rendered head. To the same period belongs a vase in the shape of an animal; such vases are called theriomorphic.

The change in decoration corresponds to the change in the consistency of the clay and in the manner of manufacture. At the beginning of the period the clay still

FIGS. 6a–d – a *Deep bowl with vertically directed motifs. Tepe Sialk, Period III, 2.* b *Deep bowl with horizontally directed motifs. Tepe Sialk, Period III, 4.* c *Goblet with horned animal in a panel. Tepe Sialk, Period III, 7.* d *Large jar with a row of horned animals on the shoulder. Tepe Sialk, Period III, 7. All vessels in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran.*



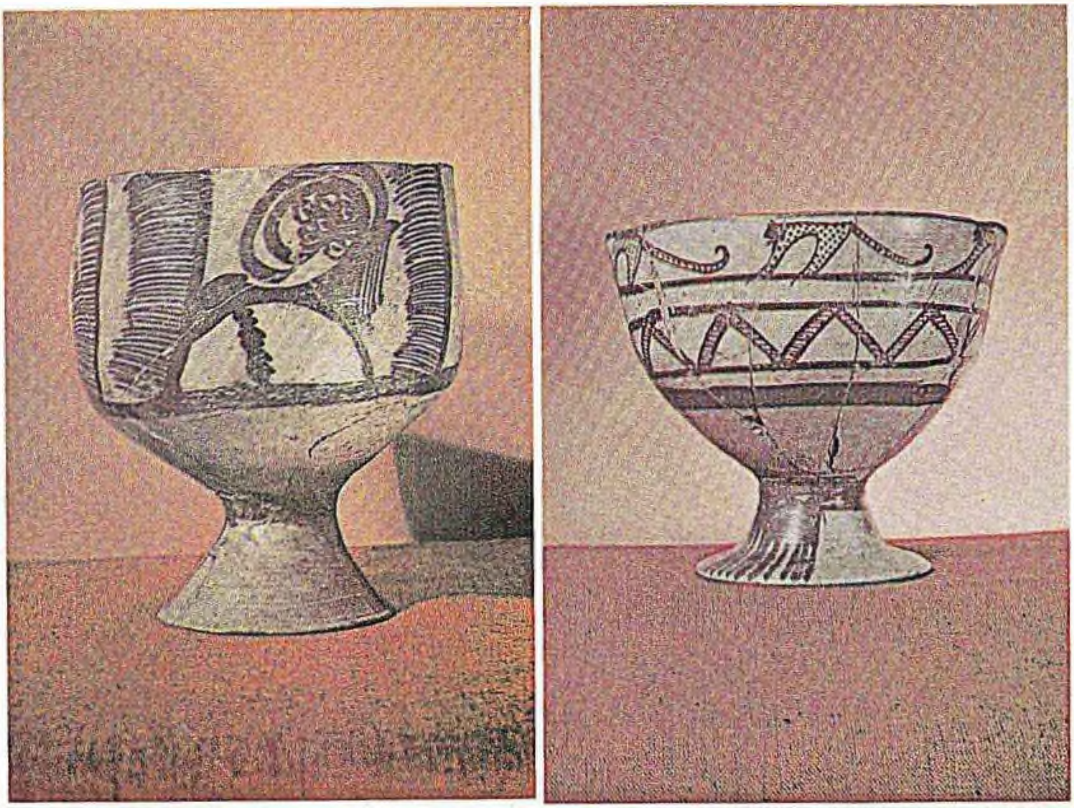


PLATE 3 – Goblets from Tepe Hissar Damghan. Period of Hissar IC, about 3500–3000 B.C. Left: *height 17 cm, diameter 15.3 cm.* Right: *height 13.3 cm, diameter 15.3 cm. University Museum, Philadelphia. Cf. p. 28*

The potter's wheel

contains some straw, but by the middle the clay is very compact with virtually no straw and the surface is smooth, with a soapy feeling. Increased firing temperatures due to improved kilns change the red colouring to buff or cream (the entire range often occurring on a single vessel) to which a slight lustre is added by light burnishing. Later the surface and paint are again left mat and the colour of the clay has a greenish cast reminiscent of the clays of south-western Iran and Mesopotamia. A most important technological revolution, which occurred during Period III, was the introduction of the potter's wheel, which permitted mass production of new and more regular shapes. The appearance of the actual 'fast' wheel may have been preceded by use of a turn-table, or *tournette*, as it is called in French. This was a device by which the potter could easily bring every side of the vessel within his reach by turning it on a movable base — a mat or perhaps a clay or stone disk — which in some instances may have been pivoted. The actual potter's wheel can be made to spin fast enough to impart centrifugal force to a centered lump of clay. The result is a more regular form with more sharply defined profiles. A footed beaker was one of the characteristic forms of this new technique, but older forms carried on as well.

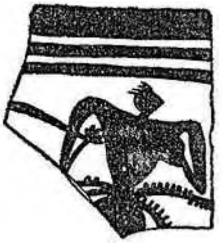


FIG. 7 – *Representation of a human figure on a potsherd from Tepe Sialk, Period III, 7b.*

In the middle of Period III at Sialk connections can be observed with the pottery of other sites, for example, with that of Tepe Hissar at Damghan several hundred miles to the north-east. The main body of Hissar painted pottery (Period IB and IC) is very similar to its Sialk counterpart. Footed beakers with rows of animals and animals in panels, for example, are also found at both sites. One would like to theorize on the nature of this relationship. Why was one pottery essentially duplicated in another place? How did it become known: through PLATE 3 trade, through migrant workers or through migration of a people? At any rate the fact that there were connections not only with Hissar but also with the pottery of Tepe Giyan — far to the west, over steep mountain passes — and with other sites indicates that the art of pottery-making was widespread and subject to influences from afar. The technique of mass production which had been created with the potter's wheel and the form of decoration, a combination of geometric and animal forms tastefully adjusted to the form of the vessel, laid the foundation for much of the stylistic tradition which subsequently characterized the pottery of Iran and which eventually found its way even to central India.

Pottery of Susa

The sequence of south-western Iranian pottery cultures is known from two areas, Susiana and the Persepolis plain. Susiana, the region surrounding Susa, has prior claim to our interest because of the fact that prehistoric Iranian pottery was first discovered there and because, owing to its inherent aesthetic appeal, this pottery was the subject of a major essay in stylistic analysis made by the classical archaeologist E. Pottier.[5] Prehistoric Iran was thereby brought for the first time into the field of vision of general art history. When the painted pottery of Susa with its marvellously balanced panelled animal designs was first discovered, it was considered the earliest in the area. Recent excavations, however, have shown that it came very late indeed in a development which began before 6500 B.C., at a time when pottery was not yet used in the region.[6] Once painted pottery had been developed, several stages followed each other in the Susiana before the exceptional quality of the Susa I pottery had been attained (see Appendix, Chart I: Painted Pottery of Iran).

FIG. 8 The example of Susa pottery usually shown is one of the large goblets with ibexes. Of all the painted pottery objects of the ancient Near East, the one here reproduced, which is in the Louvre, is the most successful. The design consists of three panels in each of which the principal figure is an ibex, its body formed by two connected triangles with curved sides. The curve of the back is continued in the marvellous sweep of the horns, which enclose an unidentifiable round object marked with a central line of chevrons suggesting a plant and, at the side, cross-hatched segments. It may be only a filler design for an otherwise empty space; at the same time it may also give a shorthand indication of plant and pasture. The frame surrounding the ibex becomes slightly narrower toward the bottom and thereby emphasizes the shape of the vessel. A stress on the circular circumference of the goblet is produced by a row of running saluki-like dogs with elongated bodies and also by the dark bands which border each register of

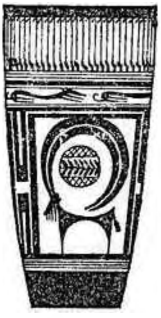


FIG. 8 – *Tall beaker from Susa with ibexes, each in a panel. Louvre, Paris.*

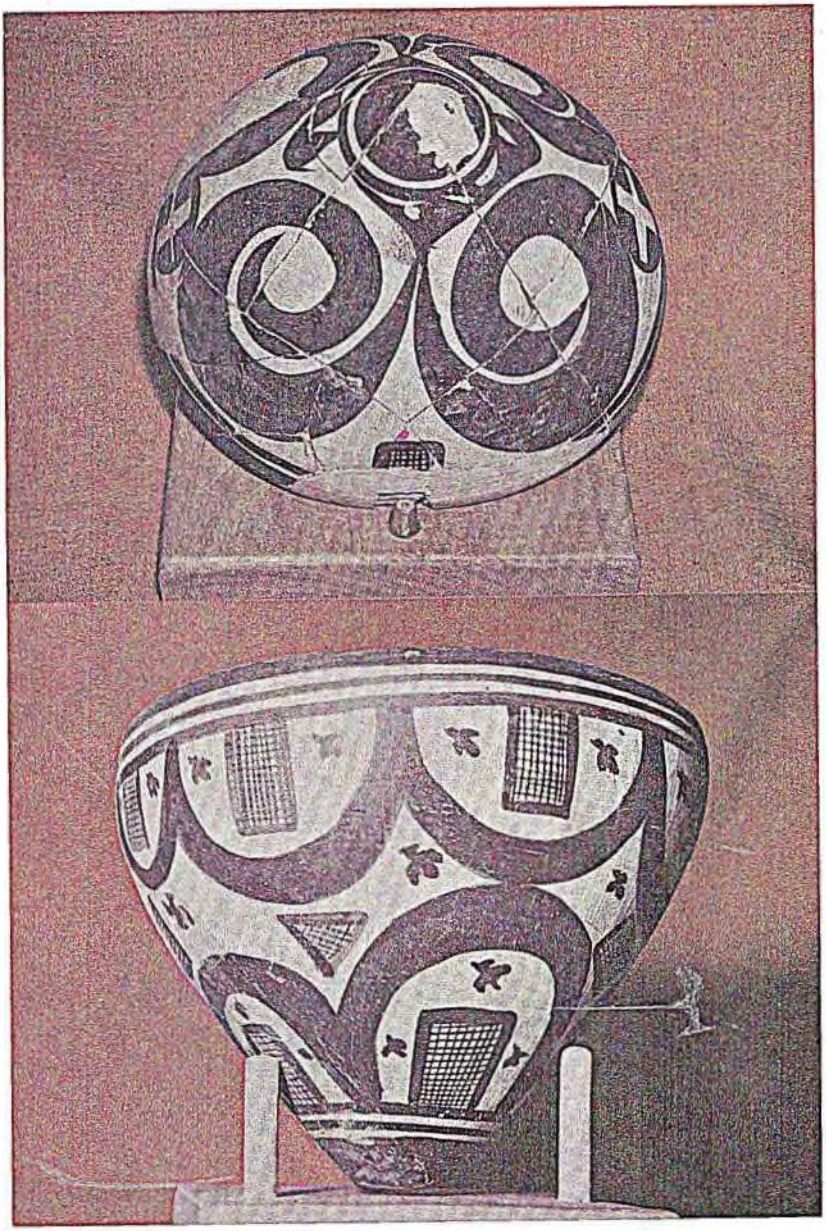


PLATE 4 – Conical bowls from Tall-i Bakun, about 3500 B.C. Above: *height 11.5 cm, diameter 18.5 cm.* Below: *height 17.5 cm, diameter 24.5-25 cm. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Cf. p. 30.*

animals. The top is formed by birds with long thin necks; these create a very light design in contrast to the bottom, which has a thick band of dark paint that gives solidity to the base. Our short description can only enumerate the elements of the design; it cannot render adequately in words the extraordinary feeling for balance in every detail expressed by the decoration of this vessel.

FIG. 9 In addition to the goblets, the insides of open bowls show paintings of similar character, also with a remarkable equipoise between geometric ornament and animal form. The latter is so adjusted to decorative purposes that the over-all effect is entirely harmonious. The composition of the design stresses the circular form of the bowl in various ways: by bands which partly follow the curve of the bowl but turn several times at right angles, by three or four circles arranged within the bowl, or by lines which form counter-curves to the circumference of the bowl. Less artful arrangements involve concentric circles or radial compositions.

Pottery of the Persepolis region

In the Persepolis region, at Tall-i Bakun, the probably contemporary painted pottery did not reach quite the degree of sophistication of that at Susa. A pleasing object is, however, one of the many conical bowls painted on the outside with two moufflons whose tremendously enlarged horns form swelling spirals. The space between the horns is filled by cross-hatched squares and circles with an enclosed cross. PLATE 4

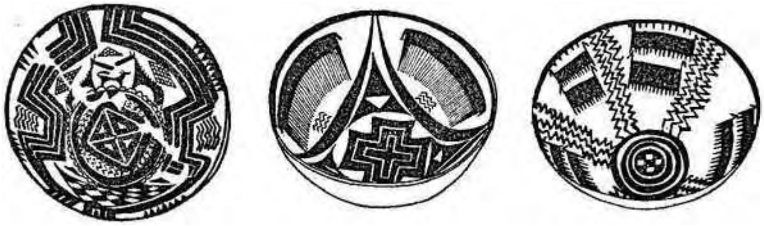
Other patterns from Tall-i Bakun and Tall-i Nokhodi show the use of negative design with the same freedom as in a painted filled design. A reversal of forms in rhythmic sequence rather than axial symmetry is also to be observed.

The decorative inventiveness of the early potters of Iran, their sense of form and balance, the assurance with which they executed their lines and shapes, transformed these vessels of simple clay into pleasing works of art. It seems likely that the pottery motifs had more than merely decorative value, but all speculation about their meaning must remain simply speculation.

SEALS

The use of seals accompanied the emergence of civilization in Iran as in many other regions of Western Asia. These engraved seal-stones of various shapes were impressed on lumps of clay which had been pressed over the strings wound around the neck of a vessel to secure in place the piece of woven material or other device which was employed to cover the mouth of the vessel. Other such clay sealings assured the safety of the contents of baskets or of containers fashioned of various materials. No unauthorized person could tamper with goods protected by clay sealings without risking the heavy penalties imposed on thieves in antiquity.

FIG. 9 – *Bowls with different compositional schemes from Susa, Period A. All in the Louvre, Paris.*



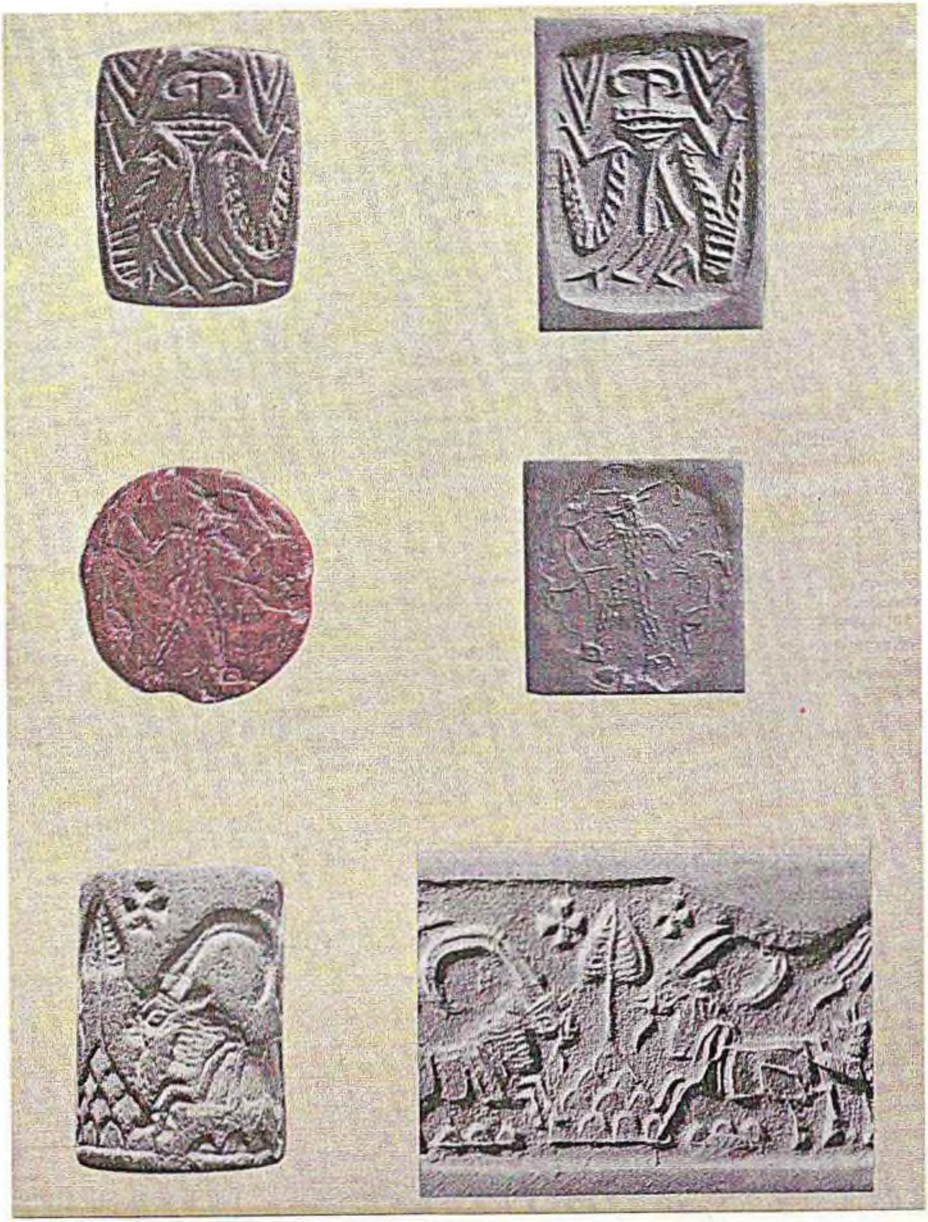


Plate 5 – Above, left: stamp seal of black steatite in the shape of a plaque engraved with a demon with moufflon horns. Period of Susa A, about 3500 B.C. *N. Heeramaneck Collection, New York. Length 4.25 cm, width 3.35 cm, thickness 0.10 cm.* Right: impression of this plaque. Middle, left: stamp seal in the shape of a flat hemispheroid of red steatite engraved on the base with an ibex-headed demon. Period of Susa B, about 3300 B.C. *N. Heeramaneck Collection, New York. Diameter 4.95 cm, height 1.85 cm.* Right: impression of this stamp seal. Below, left: cylinder seal of light green composition engraved with two ibexes flanking a tree. Period of Susa C, about 3000 B.C. *Louvre, Paris.* Right: impression of this cylinder, partly cut off. *Height 34 cm, diameter 24 cm. Cf. pp. 32, 34, 87, 166, 202, 213.*

Aside from its practical function, the design engraved on the sealing surface — geometric, animal or human forms — probably had a general protective significance. Thus the seals which were usually perforated and worn as a pendant on a necklace or bracelet surely also served as amulets.

PLATE 5 ABOVE AND MIDDLE

Demon with moufflon horns

As in the pottery of Iran, several groups can be distinguished among the stamp seals of that country, their style differing according to place and date of origin.[7] Only two examples are shown here, both of them closely related to groups of seals represented at Susa, although both were said to have been found in Luristan. The first is a black plaque perforated lengthwise through the middle of the object. One side of the plaque is engraved with a demon with a human body and moufflon horns. The demon has the elbows bent and both hands raised in a gesture of conjuration. Two snakes extend their triangular heads toward the demon's armpits. On either side of the demon appear several V-shaped lines of diminishing size and unknown meaning. The design is deeply and sharply gouged out from the relatively soft stone. All the shapes, such as the demon's limbs, are indicated merely by lines — except for his thorax, which is a triangular plane with horizontal lines and small vertical nicks, perhaps meant to suggest hair. Some surface design is also indicated on the bodies of the snakes, which are represented by two lines between which there is hatching in changing directions. The plaque belongs to the style of Susa A, contemporary with the beautiful pottery discussed above. In one of the painted bowls[8] occurs a human figure whose torso is similarly rendered in triangular form, although the fact that the demon on the seal has bent knees and the figure on the bowl stands upright makes the latter seem more advanced and human, whereas our demon seems to be shuffling along like an animal.

Demon with ibex horns

The second seal shown here is called in seal terminology a low hemispheroid. The seal is of dark red stone and has on the base the figure of a demon with the head of an ibex and feet in the form of heads of horned animals — the one recognizable horn looks like that of a bovine animal, but one cannot be sure. With one hand the demon holds an ibex by the horns, with the other he raises a second ibex by one hind leg. It seems as if the demon were about to throw these animals into the air. His body is covered with short striations which probably indicate a hairy skin. The engraving is much more delicate than on the foregoing seal; the entire surface of the bodies is hollowed out of the stone, and the outlines are almost naturalistically drawn. Moreover, despite the animal-head form of the feet, the demon's posture is so human that one is inclined to think of a man in the guise of a demon rather than a creature from the fearful unreasoning world of animal demons.

It is interesting to note that in the period to which the second stamp seal belongs, Susa B, the painted pottery of Susa A appears to have been largely replaced by unpainted pottery with characteristics of the Uruk period of Mesopotamia.[9] At all times Mesopotamian art appears to have centered more on man than did the pre-Islamic art of Iran. Perhaps Mesopotamian influence, so noticeable in the pottery of Susa of that time, was also responsible for the striking difference from the moufflon demon in the conception of the ibex demon in this seal. The difference in the horns, moufflon and ibex, of the demons on our two seals may or may not indicate a basic difference in the meaning of the figures. We can only say that, of the two, the ibex demon was far more widely represented and seems to have alternated on seal impressions from Susa with a human master of animals who in one case wears ibex horns on a fez-like headgear.[10]

This is the first evidence for the representation of human and demonic creatures whose power to control snakes and other dangerous animals transcends that of ordinary men. Unfortunately we may never know whether we should call these powerful superhuman beings gods, shamans or — taking into consideration the occasional human form of the figure — kings with superhuman powers.

When the ibex demon was represented in Mesopotamia[11] he probably had a different and lesser significance. At least in historical times, gods were shown in Mesopotamia in human form and only demons, most of them evil, were given features of animals.

III. THE ART OF THE EARLY URBAN CIVILIZATION

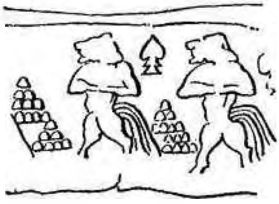
CYLINDER SEALS

The early urban civilization of Susa appears to have matured in the last centuries of the fourth millennium B.C. under the impetus of the contemporary development in Mesopotamia called the Proto-Historic period. In this period stamp seals were almost completely replaced by roller-shaped and lengthwise perforated seal-stones called cylinder seals. These were to become the most distinctive product of art in Mesopotamia and also in Susa. The administrative officers of what we may assume to have been royal or temple estates of Susa made notations on clay tablets shaped like pin-cushions. At first these notations consisted only of numerals; slightly later, and probably owing to a stimulus from the records of Mesopotamia, a pictographic script was developed whose signs were written with a stylus on the clay tablets. We call the script — which is still largely unintelligible — Proto-Elamite because it precedes the linear Elamite of the last third of the third millennium B.C., which was deciphered in 1961.[1] To authenticate the record on the tablet, the scribe rolled his cylinder seal over it while the clay was still soft and retained the impression of the design carved in reverse on the seal-stone. The tablet, which soon dried as hard as stone, became an almost indestructible document.

In Susa cylinder seals were made of marble, of variously coloured limestone, and also of a composite material which was probably faience, though it has not been analysed. The seals were engraved with copper instruments used with an abrasive such as fine sand. Deep hollows were doubtless made with a bow-drill. Since the style and to some extent also the subject-matter of cylinder seals changed from period to period and since they are preserved in greater numbers than large works of art, the representations on cylinder seals are often our only evidence of the style and current themes of a given period. For the time of the early urban civilization of Susa, for example, cylinders and seal impressions are the principal sources for our knowledge of the art and culture of the period. They show men hunting, tending cattle, hoeing the ground, making and filling storage vessels, storing grain in silos which are not unlike Egyptian ones in outline, baking, weaving, and carrying an exalted personage or statue in a procession. A bearded warrior, doubtless the ruler, is shown transfixing with arrows a host of nude enemies who seem to have threatened a noble temple on a terrace.[2] Slightly later than this group of lively scenes, found on the tablets inscribed only with numerals, are seal designs, called Proto-Elamite, the repertory of which consists almost exclusively of animals or monsters such as griffins. These animals are arranged in rows, composed antithetically or combined in scenes.[3] Our example shows two ibexes leaping toward a pine-tree on a mountain indicated by a pattern of scales. Two equilateral crosses are in the upper field on either side of the crown of the tree; a further cross appears above the back of the ibex on the left.[4] A secondary motif shows in the upper field two antelopes leaping toward a second tree beside which flowers grow. The design is produced by deep lines; the artist was obviously most concerned with the expressive outlines of the animals. The motif of horned animals flanking a tree was preserved for several millennia until Sasanian times in Iran and also became known to other peoples of the Near East in whose art it is frequently found. We have no means of discovering the precise meaning of the motif, but the relation of tree and animal probably expressed certain ideas about the vital forces of nature.

PLATE 5 BELOW

FIG. 10 – *Ancient cylinder seal impression showing lion demons among mountains. Period Susa C, about 3000 B.C. Louvre, Paris.*



The most interesting among the Proto-Elamite cylinders show animal demons. These monstrous forms with a combination of man and animal recall the demons of the stamp seals and may have been descended from them. In addition to these earlier ibex and moufflon demons, however, a lion and a bull demon were also rendered in Proto-Elamite seals. FIGS. 10, 11

Some indication of the significance of the lion demon may be given by a seal impression in which two such creatures are shown walking between mountains represented by heaps of small cones. The gigantic size of the lion demons in relation to the mountains is too striking to be without meaning, although proportions are usually not important in ancient Near Eastern renderings of landscapes. Here, however, one cannot escape the conclusion that the leonine demons were thought to have great power over the mountainous country through which they stride in the seal design. FIG. 10

To judge by another seal impression a bull demon was as powerful as the lion demon, for in this seal design both creatures are shown as if in equipoise: the lion seems to have two bulls in his power, and conversely the bull controls two lions. FIG. 11

A lion demon sculptured in the round is also preserved from this period.[5] Although the figure is little more than eight centimetres high, it conveys an impression of monumental power. The stone, probably magnesite, has the colour of ivory and a smooth, almost luminous surface. The figure is here called a lioness because of the obviously feminine forms of the lower body, but the sex of the figure is not defined and it is possible that a sexless creature was intended. The figure stands before us in an upright human posture, her paws held like fists below her breasts in a gesture characteristic of human figures of the same period in Mesopotamia.[6] From the heavy neck emerges the majestic leonine head, which is turned sideways to rest on the left shoulder. Only a shallow ridge separates the neck from the back and shoulders so that there is the least possible interruption of the nearly triangular outline formed by head and thorax. The lower part of the body is turned at right angles from the thorax so that the legs

SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND

PLATE 6

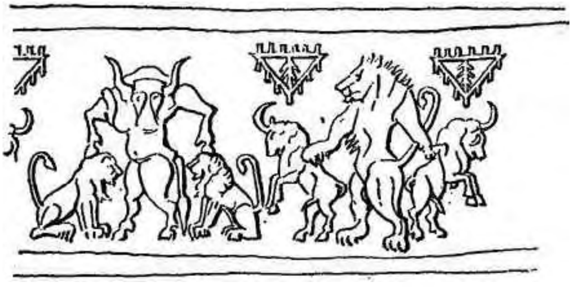


FIG. 11 – *Ancient cylinder seal impression showing lion and bull demons. Period Susa C, about 3000 B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

and abdomen face in the same direction as the head. The accentuated abdomen balances the strong backward curve of the haunches. The legs are cut off above the knee, and the stumps are smoothed off. One stump bears a dowel hole suggesting that the lower legs were made separately, perhaps of a different material. Two holes were drilled in the back of the neck and four at the base of the spine. The four holes were surely intended to tie on the tail, and the pendent bands beside it, seen on the seal impression. The holes on the neck, at the back of the head, cannot be so easily explained. Perhaps the figure had occasionally to serve as a male lion and at such times received a mane, which was tied on with a thin cord slipped through the holes. These were certainly not intended to receive a support for some object which the lioness may have carried, as has been suggested without consideration of the position and the nature of the holes.[7]

FIG. 10

The modelling of the figure is superb. The anatomical knowledge displayed, in the indication of the upper leg muscles, for example, is truly surprising. However, such details are stressed no more than is compatible with retaining the overall effect of the form. Thus the paws are treated rather summarily, so as not to weaken the powerful triangle of the thorax.

Only the head is accorded greater realism, a multitude of planes producing various changes from light to shade. The empty sockets of the eyes, in which the graded shadows now add a touch of mysterious life, were once filled with eyeballs of stone or shell and perhaps blue lapis-lazuli pupils. The detailed modelling of the small head effectively accentuates the impact of the less differentiated massive thorax. However, the unity of the form is preserved by the rhythm of the planes, which repeat the pattern of the head in simplified and larger manner throughout the body.

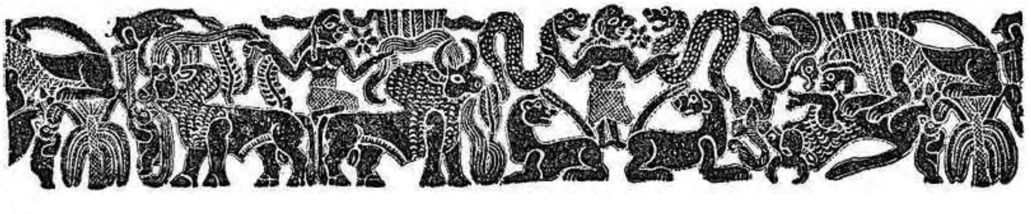
Sculptural means such as those employed for this little lioness might equally well have been used for the creation of a larger statue. This is undoubtedly the reason for the monumental quality of this figure, a quality shared by a number of small works of the Proto-Historic period in Mesopotamia.

EARLY DYNASTIC STYLE AT SUSA

FIG. 12

At the end of this period in Mesopotamia and in Susa, where it is called Susa C, there occurred a striking change in style. In Susa D and in the contemporary Early Dynastic period of Mesopotamia the style which emerged in cylinder seals and also in a steatite vase, found at Khafaje but perhaps made in Iran, is flat and linear, almost as if there had been a return to the manner of the early Iranian stamp seals. The figures were hollowed out of the stone as flat planes and varied only by linear patterns. On one side of the vessel a bull which lies on his back is being devoured by a lion, while a falcon or hawk has swooped down to profit from the kill. The design of the animals is extraordinarily expressive:

FIG. 12 – *Decoration of a steatite vase from Khafaje. 29th–28th century B.C. British Museum.*



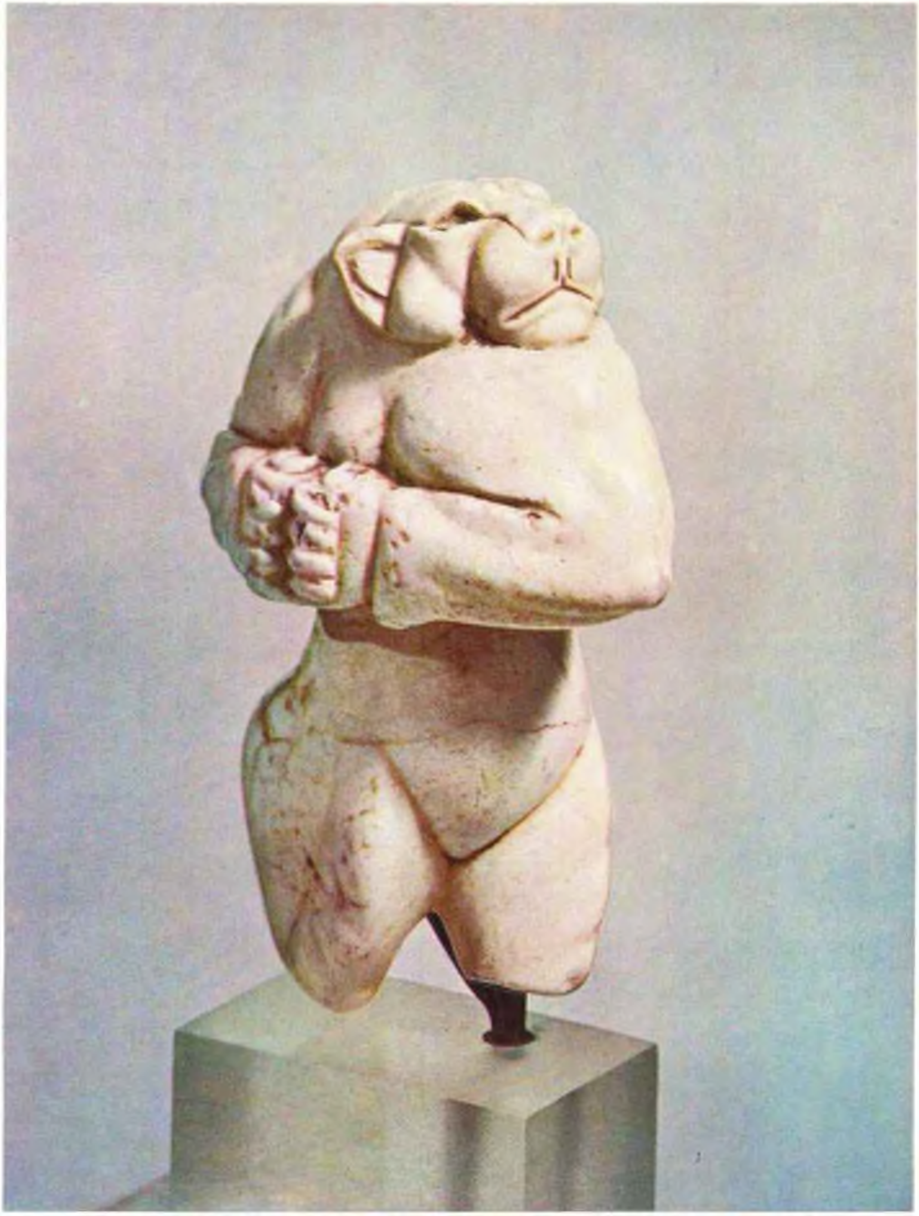


PLATE 6 – Lion demon. Magnesite or crystalline limestone. Early urban civilization, period Susa C, about 3000 B.C. *Guennol Collection of Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Martin, on loan at the Brooklyn Museum, New York. Height 8.4 cm. Cf. pp. 35, 96.*

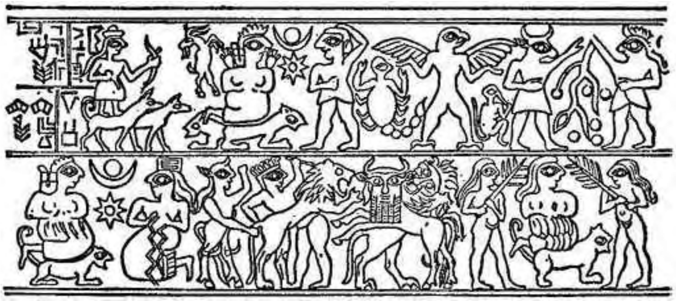


FIG. 13 – *Composite drawing of several ancient impressions of the same cylinder seal of the Early Dynastic period on 'bullae' (presumably jar sealings) from Susa. About 2500 B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

the tense, greedy lion, the lifeless mass of the bull, and the two little bears on either side of a date-palm which lick their mouths after having eaten the sweet fruit. The principal figures of the vase, however, seem to be human or divine. One of them kneels on the back of one of two addorsed bulls, holding streams of water with each hand. Another such figure stands between two lions, holding two snakes. Each figure appears to be characterized as a deity or her representative by a large rosette or star over the left shoulder. Plants which sprout from the watercourses and fill the field suggest the fertility of life-giving water.[8] Control of snakes and lions hostile to man may be indicated by the second motif. The third may show beasts, unrestrained by man or god, destroying a defenseless bull. Such interpretations, stimulated by a study of the vase, unfortunately cannot be proved. We may point, however, to the fact that the equipoise of the figure with bulls and what may be the same figure with lions seen on this vase recalls the Proto-Elamite cylinder seal with an apparent balance of power between lion and bull. FIG. 11

FIG. 13 The imprint of a cylinder seal from Susa, from a later stage of the Early Dynastic period, shows long-haired youths who are perhaps related to the figures on the steatite vase. They are in attendance on a deity sitting or kneeling on a lion. The date of the cylinder seal is indicated by the frieze of fighting heroes and animals in the lower register. To judge by Mesopotamian examples, it cannot have been carved much before 2500 B.C. The imprint shows an interesting combination of Mesopotamian stylistic conventions with concepts which appear to have been at home in Susa and probably also in other parts of Iran.

The painted pottery of Susa D has fewer points of contact with Mesopotamian pottery than the cylinder seals have. Only the non-fast polychrome decoration is comparable to the scarlet ware with fugitive red paint used at the beginning of the First Early Dynastic period in the Diyala region. The motifs, of Plate 7, however — a large star, a curiously insecurely positioned goat with a small human figure above — have no parallels in Mesopotamian art. The powerfully stylized eagle with spread wings on the back of this vessel[9] is not unlike contemporary designs from Tepe Giyan near Nihavend; the star pattern also points to a connection with the pottery designs of that site in northern Luristan. FIG. 14 CHART III

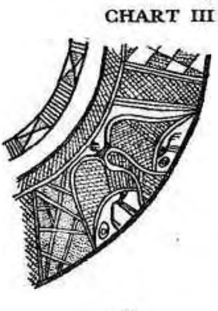


FIG. 14 – *Design of a bird of prey on the vase from Susa reproduced on Plate 7.*

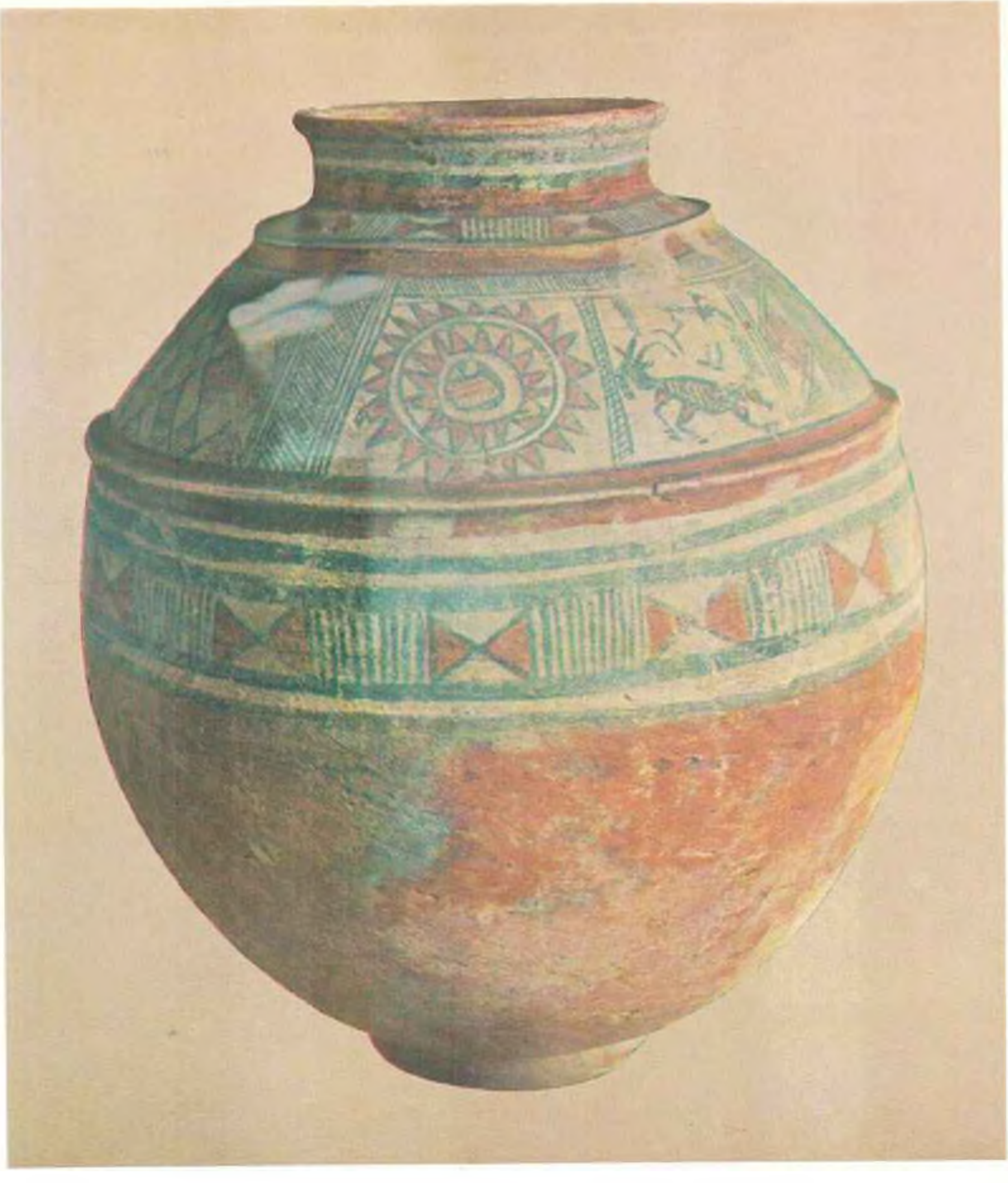


PLATE 7 – Painted vase from Susa, Period D, formerly called Susa II, early third millennium B.C. *Louvre, Paris. Height 50 cm, diameter 30 cm. Cf. pp. 38, 84.*

IV. THE ART OF THE AKKAD AND POST-AKKAD PERIODS IN WESTERN IRAN; CONTEMPORARY ART WORKS OF NORTH-EASTERN IRAN

HISTORICAL SURVEY

The powerful Akkad dynasty, which put an end to the Sumerian city-states of Mesopotamia about 2370 B.C., extended its rule over western Iran also, especially over the south-west: Elam, with its capital city of Susa. Susa may have been a trading centre for some of the raw materials from Iran needed in Mesopotamia: metals, stone and timber. Military campaigns by the Akkadians and later rulers of Mesopotamia were probably necessary to assure the continuous flow of these materials but also (and this was more important) to hold in check the predatory Elamite highlanders, who were always eager to raid the Mesopotamian towns which had grown rich through industry and trade. Elam seems to have had some sort of a federation of such highlanders, with their own, probably half-nomadic living pattern, and the townspeople of Susa and other centres who shared the urban way of life developed in Mesopotamia.[1]

ROCK RELIEFS

FIG. 15

No large monuments are known in Iran from the time of the Akkad dynasty, but a relief of King Naramsin (2291–2255 B.C.) near Darband-i Gawr in southern Kurdistan in Iraq may have influenced somewhat later reliefs at Sar-i Pul,[2] not far from Kermanshah in the Kurdish mountains on the Iranian side of the frontier. In one of these reliefs King Anubanini of the Lullubi tribes — which Akkadian texts locate north of the Elamites — represented himself triumphing over his enemies with the help of the goddess Inanna. Inanna extends to the

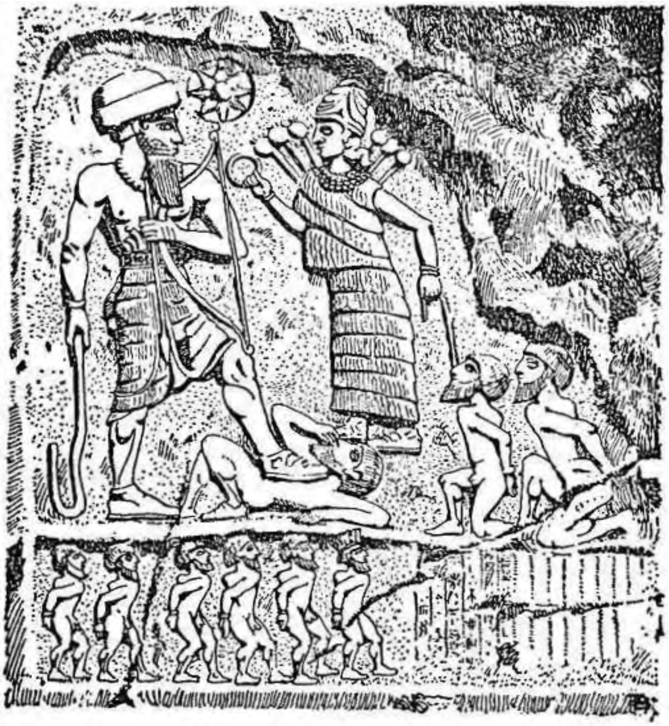
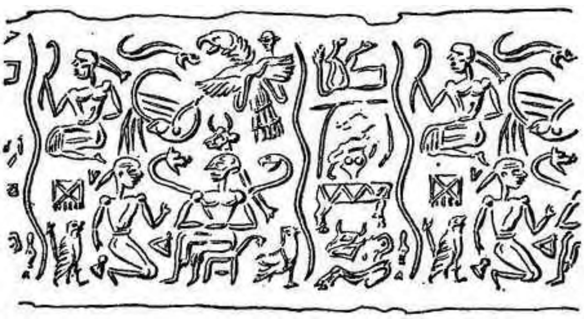


FIG. 15 – *Rock relief of Anubanini near Sar-i Pul. 21st-20th century B.C.*

FIG. 16 – *Mythological representation on an Iranian cylinder seal dated in the Akkad period. 24th-22nd century B.C. Shell.*



king a ring, a symbol of divine authority in Mesopotamian iconography. The important role of the goddess Inanna in this relief corresponds to the significant position of the goddess Pinikir in the Elamite pantheon. In the treaty which Naramsin concluded with a king of Awan — a country probably also located north of Elam, but considerably further south than the Lullubi tribes — the invocation of the chief goddess Pinikir precedes the enumeration of the other thirty-five gods of the Elamite pantheon called as witnesses. The text of the clay tablet begins: 'Hearken goddess Pinikir... and you good gods of heaven.'[3] The predominance of a female deity declined later in the official religion of Elam, but the presence of numerous female figurines in all levels of the excavations at Susa until the middle of the first millennium B.C. documents her continued importance in popular esteem. A resurgence of veneration for a female goddess at the official level may be observed again in the ascendancy of the Persian Anahita from the later Achaemenid to the Sasanian period. At that time the relief of Anubanini may have been one of the numerous sources of inspiration for the rock-cut reliefs showing the investitute of Sasanian rulers by their divine patrons. The head-dress of the leader of the shackled enemies of Anubanini is very interesting. He wears a feather crown such as that found in a few hammered bronzes of Luristan belonging to the early first millennium B.C.[4]

CYLINDER SEALS

FIG. 16

In Susa the works of art dating from the Akkad period include few objects other than cylinder seals. These resemble Mesopotamian examples so closely that they can scarcely be differentiated. A cylinder seal of unknown origin in the collection of Mossène Foroughi, which can be dated in the Akkad period, shows, however, such unusual style and subject-matter, probably distinctly Iranian, that it will be described in detail.[5] The main figure of the scene seems to be a seated female with snakes issuing from her shoulders and a bull's head above her head. Presumably this is a deity. Before her kneels a servant with two triangular objects, perhaps small vessels, at her sides. Above the goddess appears an eagle

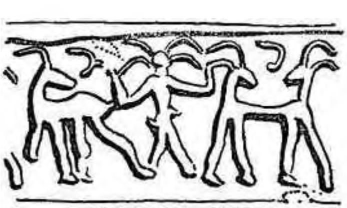


FIG. 17 – *Cylinder seal from Susa with demon and animals. Guti group. 22nd-21st century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

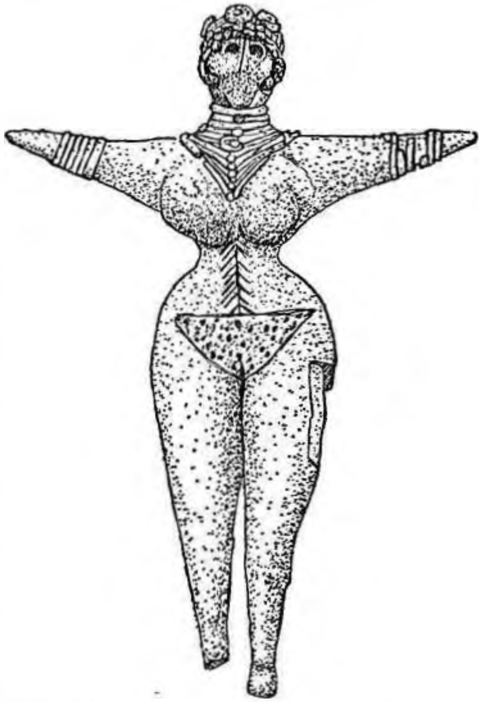
over one of whose wings is a human head, perhaps a rendering of Etana (discussed below). The eagle faces a snake, below which is a musical instrument. Two undulating lines, perhaps serpents whose heads are not indicated, divide off a curious combination of designs: the hind parts of a bull or ox, cut off and upside down, appear above a female torso over a stool with bull's feet. Below the stool appear the foreparts of the bull or ox. At the upper right of this extraordinary combination of motifs squats a female figure, resembling the goddess enthroned in another part of the seal. The second figure, however, merely seems to hold a snake in her hand, instead of having the reptiles emerge from her shoulders. Below this female figure is a stool marked by vertical and diagonal lines. Two small birds are seen on the ground beside the motif enclosed by undulating lines. A very tenuous interpretation of the scene may be suggested on the basis of the Mesopotamian myth of the shepherd king Etana who flew to heaven on the back of an eagle to obtain the plant of birth for his wife. Numerous Akkadian cylinder seals showing a man on the back of an eagle have been interpreted as illustrating the flight of Etana. In our cylinder the eagle with a human head appearing over its wing may render this subject in an abbreviated manner. The juxtaposition of the eagle with a serpent may refer to the widespread theme of the enmity between eagle and serpent.[6] In the preamble of the Etana myth the eagle devours the young of the snake, and the snake avenges itself on the advice of the sun god Shamash by hiding in the carcass of an ox and attacking the eagle when he crawls into the carcass to feed from it. One may wonder whether the latter incident is rendered in the motif of the female torso between the two halves of a bull or ox on our cylinder seal. While the serpent of the Mesopotamian myth is male, the Iranian version could have featured a female serpent in view of the early prominence of female deities mentioned above. Pictorial support for the existence of a major deity of fertility associated with snakes and streams of water is given by the Late Proto-Historic or Early Dynastic steatite vase from Khafaje. In a Mesopotamian myth the motif of such a snake deity of Iranian origin could have been garbled to suit the taste of the Mesopotamian storyteller. The original dignified conception of such a deity in Iran at the time of the Akkad dynasty, however, may be reflected in the rendering of the enthroned goddess on our cylinder seal. FIG. 12

The empire of Akkad came to an end about 2230 B.C. largely as a result of the pressures of groups of tribes on the borders of the empire. The barbarous Guti who swept into the plain from the Zagros mountains brought about the final collapse of the dynasty. At the same time Susa seems to have experienced an invasion of similarly destructive and probably related tribes.

CYLINDERS OF THE GUTI PERIOD

A curiously simplified and repetitious group of cylinder seal designs may be associated with these Guti.[7] The cylinders of this type found at Susa were made of faience and show a principal figure which has one or more pairs of horns rising like excrescences from the head. The figure usually grasps a two-headed horned animal while menacing a second horned animal. The renderings may be derived from Mesopotamian examples of cylinder seals engraved with a frieze of struggling heroes, demons and animals. Such groups of objects, in which Mesopotamian tradition seems to have lingered, may have served to transmit to later Iranian craftsmen garbled versions of ancient Mesopotamian motifs. In this way some of the iconography of the later Luristan bronzes which favoured a horned figure between animals might find an explanation. At the same time it is possible that the horned figure was more than an appealing formal motif for the in- FIG. 17

FIG. 18 – *Female clay idol from Tureng Tepe. End of 3rd or beginning of 2nd millennium B.C. University Museum, Philadelphia.*



habitants of the mountains of Luristan, and that the concept of a master of animals, a demon with animal horns, first found on the prehistoric stamp seals of the region, was preserved in this area.

The distribution of cylinder seals marks the extent of Mesopotamian and Elamite influence in Iran. Its absence in the north-east, at Tureng Tepe and Tepe Hissar, is shown by the fact that only very few cylinders were found at Tepe Hissar and none at Tureng Tepe. The earlier excavation at that site — for it is at present being excavated anew[8] — yielded several clay statuettes, the most arresting of which, dark grey in colour, is here reproduced in a drawing. It is interesting to compare this idol with the Venus from Tepe Sarab, which was made several thousand years before. In both idols the female characteristics are greatly stressed; in the example from Tureng Tepe, however, the proportions are more natural. Furthermore, there is a striking contrast between the earlier figure, which sits heavily on the ground — as if it were tied to the earth — and the idol from Tureng Tepe, which stands upright before the viewer with arms spread like wings so that the figure seems light and dignified despite its ample proportions. This effect, which is further enhanced by a diadem and many necklaces, suggests that the little figurine may represent a goddess. The fact that the figure was found in a burial, lying against the arm of the skeleton, would not militate against such an interpretation.[9]

NORTH-EASTERN IRAN

FIG. 18
PLATE I ABOVE

The general context in which the figurine was found and its grey colour link it with levels of Hissar which were given the classification Hissar III B-C and which should be dated to the end of the third millennium and the earlier part of the second millennium B.C.[10] These levels at Hissar, so undramatically classified, contain some of the great problems of Iranian archaeology and history: the origin of the metal wealth, metal technology and metal tools of the community at Tepe Hissar and the origin of its grey, often patterned, burnished pottery. Further problems concern the connection between the early ware of Hissar, Tureng Tepe and other sites in this eastern region of Iran and the later grey ware cultures of western Iran. The most important and the most difficult problem connected with this pottery, however, concerns the identity of its makers. The most recent theory put forward considers the possibility that the grey ware was the favoured pottery of the Indo-Europeans in Iran and that its distribution marked their advance in that country.[11]

HISSAR III

Of the rich metal finds from Hissar III we reproduce

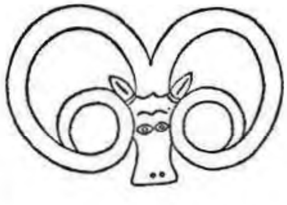


FIG. 19 – *Head of a moufflon of gold foil from Tepe Hissar Damghan. University Museum, Philadelphia and Archaeological Museum, Teheran.*

FIG. 19 here only a drawing of a moufflon head, one of five, made of gold foil and intended to be sewn on to some sort of textile. These precious objects were part of a hoard buried at the end of Hissar III, probably shortly before the site was attacked and destroyed by fire.[12]

The powerful sweep of the horns, the eyes staring out of the head, suggest a more than decorative significance for this object. One would like to know whether there was any connection between the frequent representations of moufflon and ibex on the one hand and of female figurines on the other.

Tentatively we may suggest here that attention be focused on some rites and concepts which Karl Jettmar was able to observe in villages of Dardistan, situated in north-western India, where 'the three most eminent mountain chains of Asia meet — the Hindukush, Himalaya and Karakoram. Most of this area is inhabited by Indo-Aryan or Iranian peoples'.[13] In the remote valleys of this region ancient religious traditions maintained themselves without interference by the Muhammadan zealots who had destroyed such traditions in neighbouring Kafiristan. Only the wood carvings of Kafiristan still manifest today a similarly tenacious retention of ancient traditions (see p. 18). The most interesting tradition of Dardistan concerns the cult of a goddess Murkum who was worshipped by all the women of the Haramosh valley. 'She helped in delivery and protected mother and child; yet she was also the chief owner of all ibexes and wild goats denoted by the collective term of *mayaro*. Therefore she was venerated by hunters, too, who brought her horns'.[14] Jettmar describes a sanctuary of Murkum, which was still in use, as lying almost three thousand metres above sea-level just in front of the Haramosh; this was 'no accident as the mountain was considered the proper home of the Murkum. On the steep slope there is an altar built of boulders dominated by a cliff as big as a house with a juniper tree growing beside it. Next to it is a spring. Below the altar crude benches of stone were erected for the annual meeting of the women. Nut-trees grow between them. Even they are considered holy and no branches were ever broken off.' In the rites performed at the annual meeting of the women at the sanctuary, the goddess was to send the sacrifice, a she-ibex. A male priest is said to have participated in the ceremony by performing a dance and by killing the ibex and dividing it up. The ministry of this priest 'is now abolished but women anxious about the welfare of their families still come to the altar table and put leaves of juniper between the boulders.'

Similar concepts concerning a deity, 'owner-goddess of the animals', also prevailed in some districts of the Caucasus. There, as in the Haramosh valley, a hunter can capture his prey only with her consent. 'Sometimes the goddess appears in the shape of a "pure" animal. The precise idea that a slaughtered animal may be revived from its bones occurs in both areas. Even the detail that a missing bone can be replaced by a rod is identical. Here, as there, the belief is connected with wild goats and this must be a very old affinity, because Thor, the Germanic god, plays the same trick on his bucks.

'Today there is a vast empty distance between the two centres, the Caucasus and the Hindukush/Karakoram, but once perhaps similar beliefs existed on the Iranian plateau and were destroyed in the course of the violent history of this area.' The possibility here suggested of using the complex of ideas discovered in Dardistan and known from the Caucasus for the interpretation of early works of art from Iran is very tempting but must unfortunately remain a hypothesis without documentary proof.

V. THE ART OF THE ELAMITES

Historical survey

The destruction of the great old city of Ur in Mesopotamia by the Elamites in about 2000 B.C. left a deep impression on the contemporary Mesopotamians. Two Sumerian lamentations on clay tablets reflect the memory of this event: the lament over the destruction of Ur and the lament over the fate of Ibbisin, the last king of Ur, who was led away into captivity. A few lines of the latter lament describing the fate decreed by the great gods Anu and Enlil follow in translation: '...hostile Su people and Elamites will attain the inhabitants [of Ur], the king [of Sumer] will have to leave the palace, Ibbisin will have [to go] to the country of Elam, [go] from the Sabu mountain, the "breast" of the mountain range, to the end of Anshan; like a bird which left its abode, like a stranger [he will not return] to his city.'[1]

Not only the king of Ur, whose dynasty had ruled over all of Mesopotamia and Elam, but also the patron goddess of Ur, Ningal, seem to have been led away into captivity.[2] This statue was not the only one which was taken to Elam. Several centuries later an Elamite king Shutruk-Nakhunte dragged two of the greatest works of Mesopotamian art from the town of Sippar (north of Babylon on the Euphrates) to Susa: the stele of Naramsin of the Akkad dynasty and that of Hammurabi of Babylon. The French excavators of Susa discovered these monuments, as well as others which had been brought from Eshnunna in the Diyala valley, in north-eastern Mesopotamia.[3]

The divine and royal statues of the ancient Near East were meant to assure for the king the enduring protection of the deity, well being and a long life. Reliefs which showed a military victory of a ruler or his performance of a ritual action were surely intended to eternalize the effectiveness of such deeds. In the country of their origin works of art of this type must have been considered charged with beneficial power. Hostile intruders therefore would destroy them or lead them into captivity as representative of the conquered peoples — like Ningal of Ur. Often the conqueror had the original inscription erased and his own name and even a record of his conquest engraved on the captured statue or stele. To erase the name of a person literally meant to kill his memory.

Relations between Elam and southern Mesopotamia

With the destruction of Ur the Elamites under a king of Simash liberated themselves from Mesopotamian tutelage, but not for long. The successors of the Third Dynasty of Ur as rulers of Mesopotamia, the kings of Isin and of Larsa, continued a policy, developed earlier in relations with Elam, of 'military pressures and diplomatic marriages'. In the course of the second millennium B.C., however, some forceful Elamite ruler occasionally succeeded not only in establishing his independence from Mesopotamian interference but also in extending briefly his influence on regions lying on the western borders of Elam. In turn, some powerful kings of Mesopotamia like Hammurabi of Babylon claimed at least partial domination of Elam. Between these highlights in the political history of Elam and Mesopotamia there were long periods in which no major military engagement is recorded between the two countries. In some measure exchange of goods and ideas certainly must have taken place between Susa and several of the rich Mesopotamian towns, especially Lagash, Larsa and Eshnunna. But Babylonian texts from the first half of the second millennium indicate a decline in the assumed large-scale trade of earlier times, when ships are thought to have plied the Persian Gulf with timber, silver and tin from

Susa and to have returned with agricultural products such as barley and oil.[4] The clay tablets on which historical texts were written and on which merchants recorded their business transactions mention towns and countries of Elam, but they rarely give any indication of their geographical location. Anshan, which seems at times to have been the most important region of Iran aside from Elam, may have been situated in the Bakhtiari mountains. Susa probably dominated the entire plain irrigated by the Kerkha and Karun rivers. Strong rulers of Susa probably also reigned over the green pastures of the valleys of Luristan, which would have been of great importance for the supply of the capital with sheep — and later with horses for the army.

Little is known about the internal history of Elam. The texts which contain historical information are not numerous and are not yet fully understood by modern scholars. The language, Elamite, is neither Semitic nor Indo-European, and its relation to other languages is not yet clarified.

In periods of strong influence from Mesopotamia the texts, economic and legal records, were written in Sumerian and Akkadian, that is, in the languages of Mesopotamia. There are indications that the genuinely Elamite business practice was entirely oral, so that writing need not have been an integral element of Elamite culture.[5]

Relations between Elam and northern Mesopotamia

It is interesting to note some evidence of similarly oral business practice in the records found in the Hurrian region of northern Mesopotamia, in Nuzi near Kirkuk. Furthermore, other characteristics common to the legal documents of both Susa and Nuzi exist. This points to a relationship also manifested in the considerable proportion of Hurrian proper names found among the princes who played a role in the political history of the country.[6] Such relations between the populations of northern Mesopotamia and Elam are also reflected in the numerous Mitannian or Hurrian-style cylinder seals found at various sites in Iran. Only at Susa and in its immediate vicinity, where local Susian seal-cutters established a distinctive Elamite tradition, was there a pronounced scarcity of seals of Mitannian or Hurrian style in the excavations.

CYLINDER SEALS

These cylinder seals which were found at Susa and at the neighbouring site of Tchoga Zanbil serve to establish a framework of glyptic art in Elam from the Old Elamite period of the early second millennium B.C., through the Middle Elamite period of the second half of the second millennium, to the Neo-Elamite period of the early centuries of the first millennium B.C.[7] Occasionally this framework may serve for the classification of larger works of art which are uninscribed and undated. For this reason we begin the discussion of Elamite art with the cylinder seals.

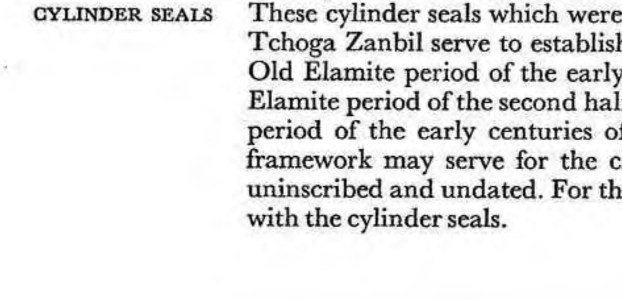
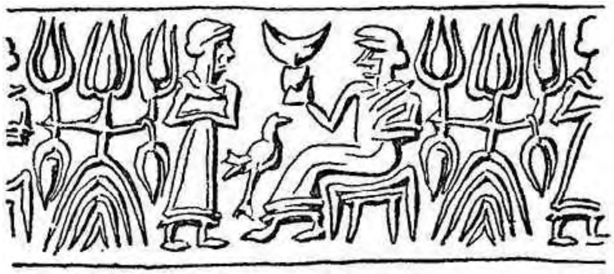


FIG. 20 – *Old Elamite cylinder seal from Susa with scene of worship. 20th-17th century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

Fig. 21 – *Old Elamite cylinder seal from Susa with scene of worship. 20th-17th century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*



Old Elamite cylinders

Cylinder seals were produced in great numbers in the Old Babylonian period, about 1900 to 1600 B.C. The same is true of Susa, where we call the style of the seals Old Elamite. These Old Elamite cylinders conform to the Old Babylonian ones in the ubiquitous rendering of scenes of worship, a motif inherited from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. But certain details characterize seals as originating in Susa: for example, a tree at the end of a scene, or the placing before the deity of an offering-table bearing a bird, or some sacrificial animal, rarely a fish. (In Babylonia the tree design is not found in seals of that period, and the deity or its image is never shown partaking of food or even receiving a food offering.) Here distinctive ritual practices of Elam manifest themselves, practices which are reflected several centuries later in Assyria. These Old Elamite cylinders are often made of the black bitumen found near the oil-fields of the region. This material can be worked very easily, and the seal-cutter could indicate the surface of an object by a series of short incisions, as in the throne and the palm-tree of Figure 20. The imprint of such a cylinder seal shows ragged outlines and looks crude. A second style is smoother. The example of the latter shown here has a curious tree growing from a knoll. The branches of the tree with their leaves or blossoms not only grow upward but also point downward. This might have been a means to fill the field, but one should not rule out the representation of a candelabra-like artificial construction. Perhaps the style of this cylinder is slightly later than that of Figure 20.[8]

FIGS. 20, 21

FIG. 20

FIG. 21

Early Middle Elamite cylinders

A Middle Elamite style of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. is here represented by a cylinder which can be dated approximately on the basis of similar imprints found on tablets of Nuzi.[9] It shows a carefully engraved scene with several figures. One of these is marked as a deity by a horned crown and sits on a throne, the back of which ends in an animal's head. This feature can be traced to other cylinders of the group, in which the god actually sits on an animal. We encounter here the characteristic Iranian practice of decorating and enlivening inanimate objects with animal heads. Both deity and worshipper

FIG. 22

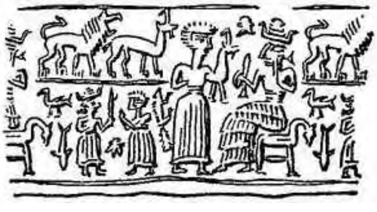


Fig. 22 – *Middle Elamite cylinder seal with the presentation of an offering to an enthroned deity. Found in Luristan. About 15th century B.C. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

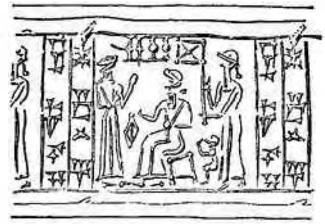


Fig. 23 – *Middle Elamite cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil. Apricot-coloured quartz-like stone. 13th century B.C. Worshipper with a servant. Louvre, Paris.*

have narrow waists; the worshipper who carries a sacrificial goat in his arms has his hair cut '*en brosse*' or swept upward, a feature often observed in renderings of Elamites. In a subsidiary scene a worshipper appears before a standing deity, and in the upper register a lion pursues a horned animal, an ancient Mesopotamian and Iranian motif which appears in many different styles until the latest periods of Iranian art. This cylinder was found in a sanctuary in Luristan where it had probably been brought from Susa.

Middle Elamite cylinders of Tchoga Zanbil

The next stage of Elamite cylinder seals became known through Ghirshman's discovery of a deposit of such seals in chapels of the sanctuary of Tchoga Zanbil. With few exceptions these cylinder seals probably belong to the latter part of the Middle Elamite period, in which King Untashgal (*c.* 1265–1245 B.C.)[10] built the sanctuary. A considerable number of these cylinders, of which we give one example here, resemble the early Kassite cylinders of Babylonia, dated in the fifteenth century B.C., in the use of attenuated figures carved with thin lines by means of a fine drill. However, the scene of adoration or worship shown here is characterized as typically Elamite by the servant who holds a fan behind the throne. The shelf with vessels in the upper field and the small goblin, more human than ape-like, are also long-lived Elamite motifs. This scene of worship of a deity may not have differed much from an audience with one of the great lords of Elam.

FIG. 23

Most of these cylinders of Kassite style, which are among the finest found at Tchoga Zanbil, and others of good quality were made of deep blue glass. Such use of glass may ultimately go back to Egyptian influence. The seals of a much cruder style, here called common style, were made of a related composition, namely faience. An example of the common style shows a simplified version of the scene just described. Here the worshipper has taken over the function of the servant with the fan. The seated figure, probably a deity, raises a vessel to his mouth. The action here depicted and the shape of the vessel are most characteristic of this group of cylinder seals.

FIG. 24

A later Neo-Elamite version of the scene is given in Figure 25. The smaller size of the cylinder and the proportions of the figures are comparable to those of

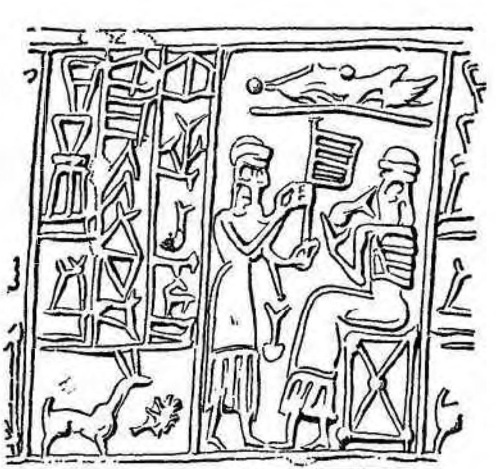


Fig. 24 – *Middle Elamite cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil. Faience. Servant fanning an enthroned deity drinking. 13th century B.C.*

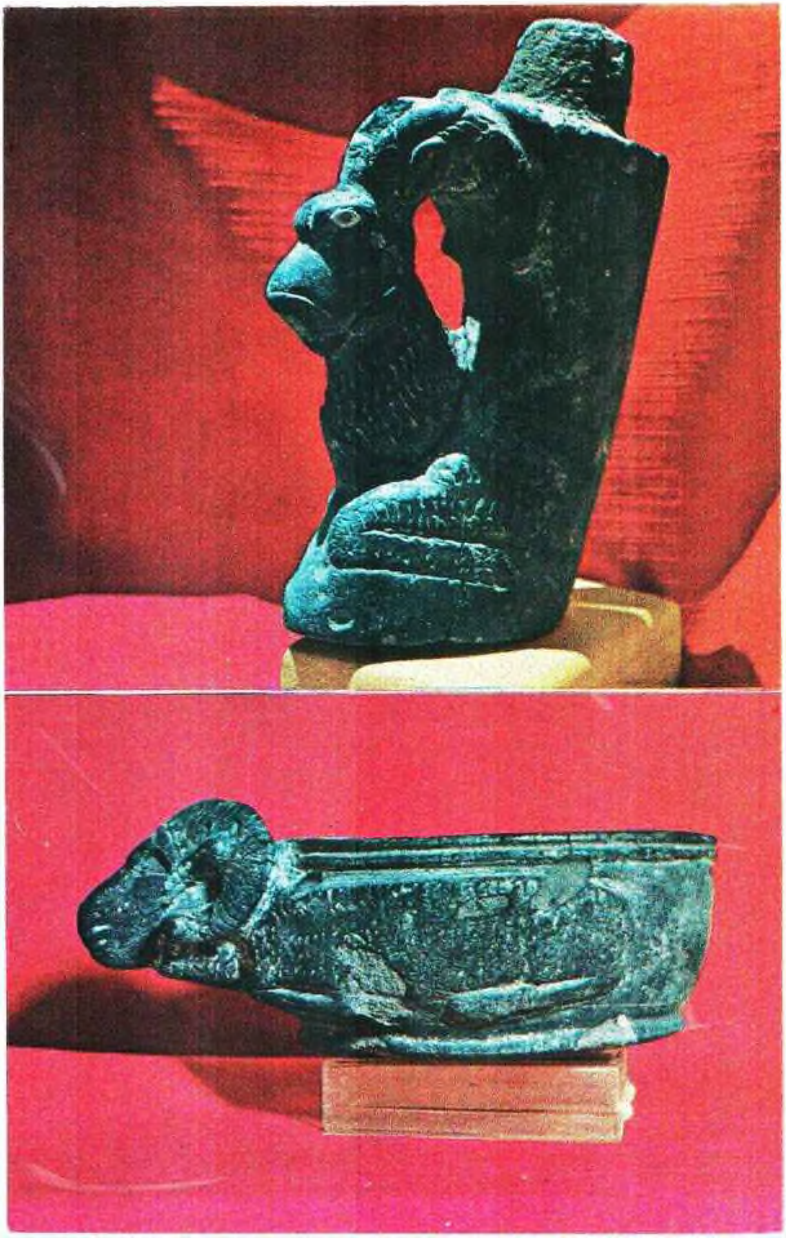


PLATE 8 – Above: foot of a tray with a kneeling ibex from Susa. Bitumen. *Height 16.8 cm, width at the base 8.3 cm.* Below: bowl with a recumbent ram from a grave at Susa. Bitumen. *Length from mouth of ram to back of vessel 21.3 cm, height 7 cm.* Both Old Elamite, early second millennium B.C. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Cf. p. 52.*

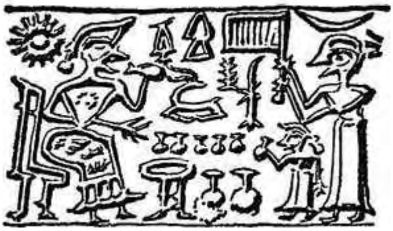


FIG. 25 – *Neo-Elamite cylinder seal. Faience. Enthroned deity drinking while fanned by a servant. 9th-8th century B.C. Morgan Library, New York.*

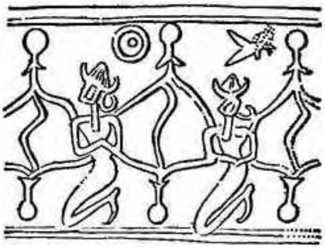


FIG. 26 – *Middle Elamite cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil. Faience with traces of green glaze. Water gods. Archaeological Museum, Teheran.*

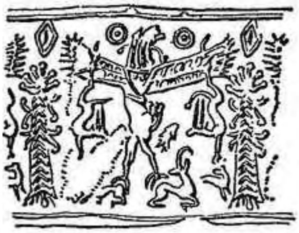


FIG. 27 – *Middle Elamite cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil. Faience. Lion demon standing on horned animals. 13th century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

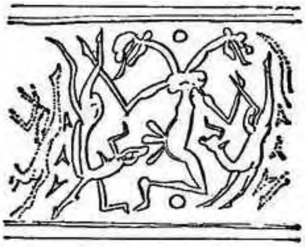


FIG. 28 – *Cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil, probably Neo-Elamite. Bitumen. Double-headed lion demon. 10th-9th century B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran.*

Assyrian cylinders of the ninth century B.C. This dating is also suggested by the pointed headgear of the seated figure found in a Neo-Elamite relief from Susa[11] and in a rock relief at Naqsh-i Rustem, which will be discussed later.

FIG. 26 Among the cylinders with religious themes we have chosen one which shows kneeling gods surrounded by streams of water that seem to issue from their shoulders and from their arms or their hands.[12]

FIG. 27 From the fearful and destructive world of demons which can be successfully fought only with the help of the very same demons, if these are properly manipulated, comes the winged lion-headed figure of another cylinder seal. With his bird claws the demon stands on two kneeling ibexes and with each hand

FIG. 28 raises a gazelle by the hind legs. A related theme is shown in Figure 28, but there are several reasons for suggesting a later, possibly early Neo-Elamite origin for this seal. Such a date would be important for the classification of some of the Luristan bronzes which the demon resembles in abbreviation of form and in the curved slender neck. The figures are attenuated and lack the solid verticality of the preceding seal. Moreover, the wedge-shaped fillers are not found in any other seal from Tchoga Zanbil, but they are reminiscent of the single wedges of cuneiform writing occasionally scattered in the field of Assyrian cylinders of the early first millennium B.C. Lastly, the cylinder is made of bitumen and was not found in the chapels with the other cylinders, which are mostly of faience or glass.

Neo-Elamite cylinders

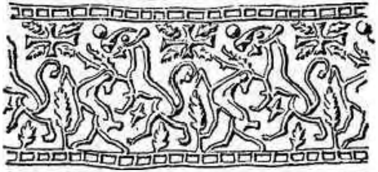


Fig. 29 – *Cylinder seal from Susa. Faience. Lion pursuing a horned animal. Probably Neo-Elamite. 10th-9th century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

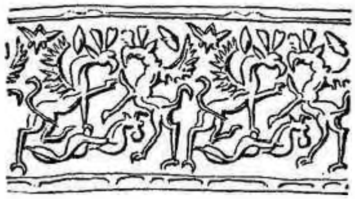


Fig. 30 – *Cylinder seal from Susa. Bitumen. Two griffins hovering over a creature with a bull's head. Probably Neo-Elamite, 9th-8th century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

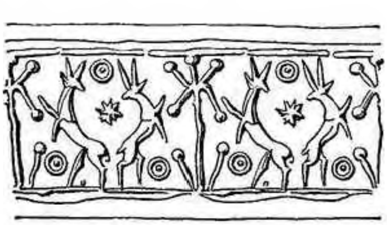


Fig. 31 – *Middle Elamite cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil. Faience. Horned animals flanking a tree 13th century B.C.*

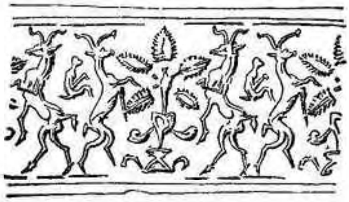


Fig. 32 – *Cylinder seal from Susa. Bitumen. Two horned animals flanking a tree with pointed oval leaves. Probably Middle Elamite. 13th-11th century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

FIG. 29

Faience continued as a favoured material for seals in Elam, and a cylinder from Susa which again shows the pursuit of a horned animal by a lion belongs even more certainly to the early first millennium B.C. Here, too, the vertical composition has given way to oblique inclination of the animal bodies, and plants of a type common in Assyrian cylinders of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. rise from the ground-line. Of special interest is the cross, which has branches between the arms. This motif occurs in somewhat related manner on Luristan bronzes and may still be found in Sasanian textile patterns.

FIG. 30

The next cylinder shows two griffins hovering over a creature which looks like a snake with a bull's head but which may merely present one of those curious abbreviations of animal bodies that occur in Elamite and even in Proto-Elamite art from the earliest to the latest periods.[13] The fact that the griffins have again filled out and show more rounded forms suggests that they are to be placed in the first millennium, in the late ninth or eighth — perhaps even in the early seventh — century B.C.

FIGS. 31, 32

Two cylinders which may serve to date other works, one of faience, the other of bitumen, show horned animals flanking a tree. The simplified example in which the branches of the tree end in globules was found in one of the chapels at Tchoga Zanbil; the more elaborate version was found at Susa. It shows a tree with a crown consisting of five pointed oval leaves which remind one of the outline of date-palm blossoms. This type of tree design is typical of the late and post-

Kassite period of Babylonia, between the thirteenth and eleventh centuries B.C., and even survived into later times. Curiously enough, there are not many examples of such a tree design at Susa, and none has so far been found at Tchoga Zanbil. However, one does find the design on bronzes from Luristan. Perhaps the frequency of the motif should be investigated for indications of stylistic links, but this is still a task for the future.

On the basis of the chronological division into Old, Middle and Neo-Elamite periods suggested for the cylinder seals, we may now discuss some other Elamite works of art.

OLD ELAMITE ART

No architectural remains from the first half of the second millennium B.C. were observed and described at Susa, and no traces of buildings have been preserved. It is therefore impossible to form an opinion of Elamite architecture at Susa during this period.

Objects in bitumen

PLATE 8 ABOVE

In the minor arts, however, a definite style manifests itself, a style characterized by the use of animal bodies and animal heads on vessels and other objects. Our plate shows the foot of an object carved in bitumen[14] with the foreparts of an ibex whose head and neck are worked in the round. Nose and beard of the animal are broken off; nevertheless, the animal sculpture is quite expressive, which is in part due to accentuation of the eyes with white shell inlays. Hair is indicated by rows of sharply engraved and short, often slightly curved lines. The style is reminiscent of the Old Elamite cylinder seals which are also made of bitumen and which show similar rows of incised lines to suggest surface patterns.

PLATE 8 BELOW

The same workshop which produced the object just discussed may have also made the ram-headed bowl found in a coffin between the hands of the deceased.[15] The sides of the bowl represent in side view the extended body of the ram whose neck and head are carved in the round at one end of the bowl. The position in which this vessel was found suggests that such vessels decorated with animal forms lent themselves well to ritual purposes.

FIG. 33

The finest example of a bowl of this type was found in the northern Mesopotamian town of Ishchali, in the Diyala valley.[16] Three recumbent ibexes, their heads and necks turned at right angles to the rest of the body and partly worked in the round, were originally carved along the circumference of the bowl, but only one of the animals is preserved. The body is simplified to almost geometric forms, and the hair is stylized in rows of hatchings running in opposite directions like a herring-bone pattern. Although minor differences can be observed between the bowl from Ishchali and the bowl and fragmentary foot of an object

PLATE 8 BELOW

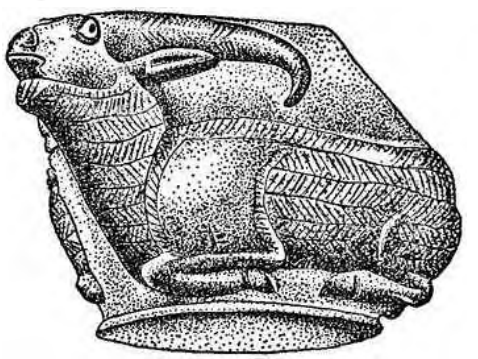


FIG. 33 – *Bitumen vessel with ibexes from Ishchali. Probably Old Elamite, early 2nd millennium B.C. Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.*

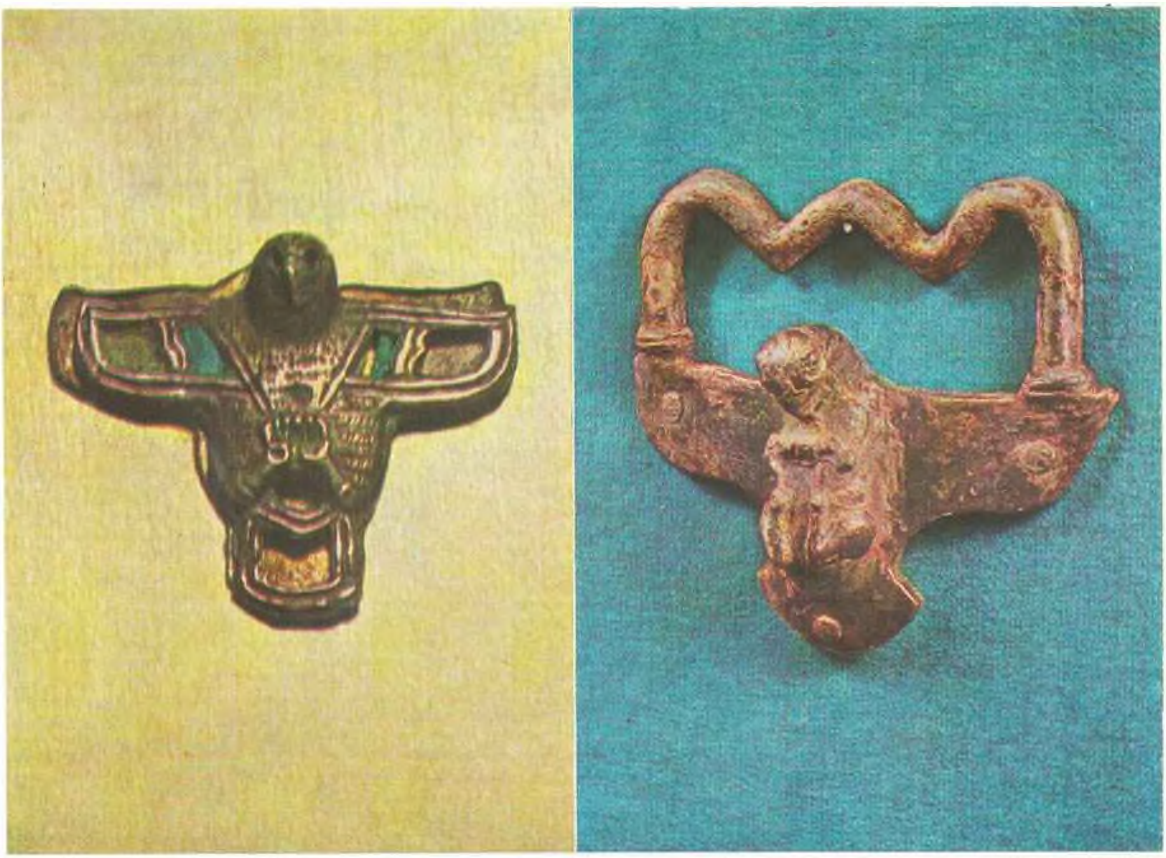


PLATE 9 – Left: golden falcon with blue inlays from a grave at Susa. Probably Old Elamite, before 1500 B.C. *Height c. 6 cm.* Right: bird-shaped handle attachment from Hasanlu. Bronze with lead inset in back. 9th century B.C. *Height 3 cm, width 3.5 cm. Both Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Cf. pp. 54, 101, 106.*

from Susa here reproduced, the existence of a large number of such vessels in the finds excavated at Susa, as against the unique example from Ishchali, and the material of these vessels, which is typical of works of art made at Susa, offer sufficient indications on which to postulate the origin of the group in Elam. The appearance of the single piece in Ishchali can be explained by the fact that one of the trade-routes went from Susa to Mesopotamia over Kurdistan, the route nowadays crossing through Kermanshah and into Iraq over passes that lead into the Diyala valley.[17]

If our Elamite bowls are correctly dated in the time of the dynasties of Isin and Larsa in Babylonia, that is, in the twentieth and nineteenth centuries B.C., when a very naturalistic style prevailed in Babylonian art, the abstraction noted in the decoration of these bowls must correspond to a specifically Elamite taste at that period. A distinctively Elamite feature may also be the way in which the head of the animal decorating the bowl is turned at right angles to the body in relief and carved partly or entirely in the round. This device for enlivening the decoration of a bowl was used in Mesopotamia only in the time of the early urban development shortly before and after 3000 B.C. Perhaps its use at Susa in the Old Elamite period — and later — shows that there this early device was retained with the same tenaciousness which characterizes the retention of earlier features in the artistic production of Iran through the centuries.

Metal objects

PLATE 9 LEFT

PLATE 9 RIGHT

Two metal objects dated by the excavator of Susa, De Mecquenem, in a period corresponding to our Old Elamite period, present other features which are not Babylonian and may therefore be Elamite or generally Iranian. A small golden falcon with spread wings has its claws pulled up close to the body as if the bird were seen in flight from below. The representation of the falcon with short thick neck and short beak is a characteristic of later Iranian art, as is the position of the legs. For example, a cauldron attachment from Hasanlu, made about one thousand years later, shows a bird of the same type, similarly positioned. The wings and tail of the bird from Susa seem to have been made in two pieces, of which the lower was a flat plate while the upper one was made in open-work. Together the two pieces formed cells for an inlay of a blue composition.[18] The technique in which cells or cloisons of gold or some other metal are made to hold inlays of some material like blue lapis lazuli, red carnelian or white shell was known quite early in Western Asia, as shown by finds from the Royal Cemetery of Ur.[19] An even earlier origin was postulated for small pieces of jewellery, decorated in the same technique, found in a child's grave at Susa, but the date of that jewellery seems somewhat uncertain.[20] Nevertheless, there can be no doubt about the fact that the technique of decoration used for the falcon from Susa was known in Western Asia before the Old Elamite period. The blue composition used for the inlays of the falcon, however, is not attested for the early periods and may indicate that the object should not be dated before the second half of the second millennium B.C.

PLATE 10

The second object supposedly of Old Elamite date is a socketed head of a bird or reptile made of silver, perhaps the top of a standard. Within the opened mouth of the creature a pattern of scales can be seen,[21] which makes it more likely that this is the head of a reptile, perhaps a tortoise. The 'tail' shown at the back of the head may imitate in metal the coloured cords, rolled up at the ends, used on standard-tops made of impermanent materials.[22]

No comparable work from the early second millennium B.C. is known from Western Asia. The plain geometric forms, given almost demonic life by the large eye peering out from under the thick brow, are comparable rather to later Iranian renderings of animals. It is possible that the head is incorrectly dated and that it was made only after the middle of the second millennium B.C., when Mitannians and Hurrians ruled in northern Mesopotamia and Kassites in the south and the prevalent taste favoured a geometric style there and also in Elam — as shown by the large number of Mitannian or Hurrian cylinders found in Iran and by the existence of at least one fine cylinder seal in Mitannian style with an Elamite inscription.[23]

It is also possible, however, that the standard-top really belongs to a time before 1500 B.C. and that it prefigures the geometric style of a later age. This would mean, however, that the geometric style had its inception with standards and similar pieces and that it originated in Persia.

MIDDLE ELAMITE ART

The Middle Elamite period is the only period of Elamite rule which has yielded

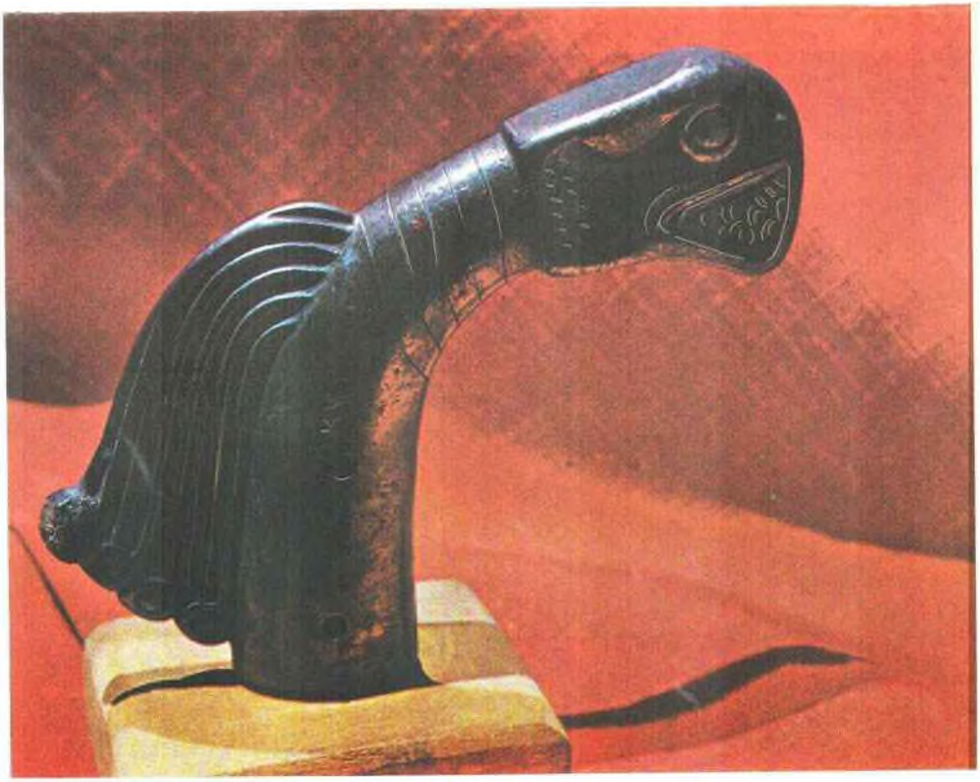


PLATE 10 – Silver standard-top from a grave at Susa. Probably Old Elamite, before 1500 B.C. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height 9 cm. Cf. p. 54.*

Architecture: Tchoga Zanbil

PLATE 11 BELOW

coherent architectural remains — the sanctuary of Tchoga Zanbil a few miles from Susa. Here Ghirshman excavated a ziggurat and surrounding chapels and temples as well as a palace and various interesting installations.[24] The ziggurat, a temple tower, rises like a massive mountain from the flat and empty plain. Once fields and gardens probably surrounded the sanctuary and supplied the priests and other employees with grain and vegetables. The fact that the soil can be made exceedingly fertile by artificial irrigation is proved by an American and Dutch project for growing sugar-cane in fields located only a few miles from Tchoga Zanbil. In Tchoga Zanbil and Susa the temperature rises to 140 degrees in the summer. But in the desert the heat is dry and bearable in the shade, and nights are even cool. The great question whether or not the ancient inhabitants of Tchoga Zanbil and Susa sought out the cool and refreshing air of the mountain valleys of Luristan during the summer months cannot be answered today because we have too little evidence. The tendency of the present-day inhabitants of the towns of Khuzistan is to seek protection from the mid-day heat in subterranean rooms and to emerge only in the evening. Only the nomads wander with their herds of sheep and goats into the mountains in summer and return in winter to the plain around Susa and Tchoga Zanbil.

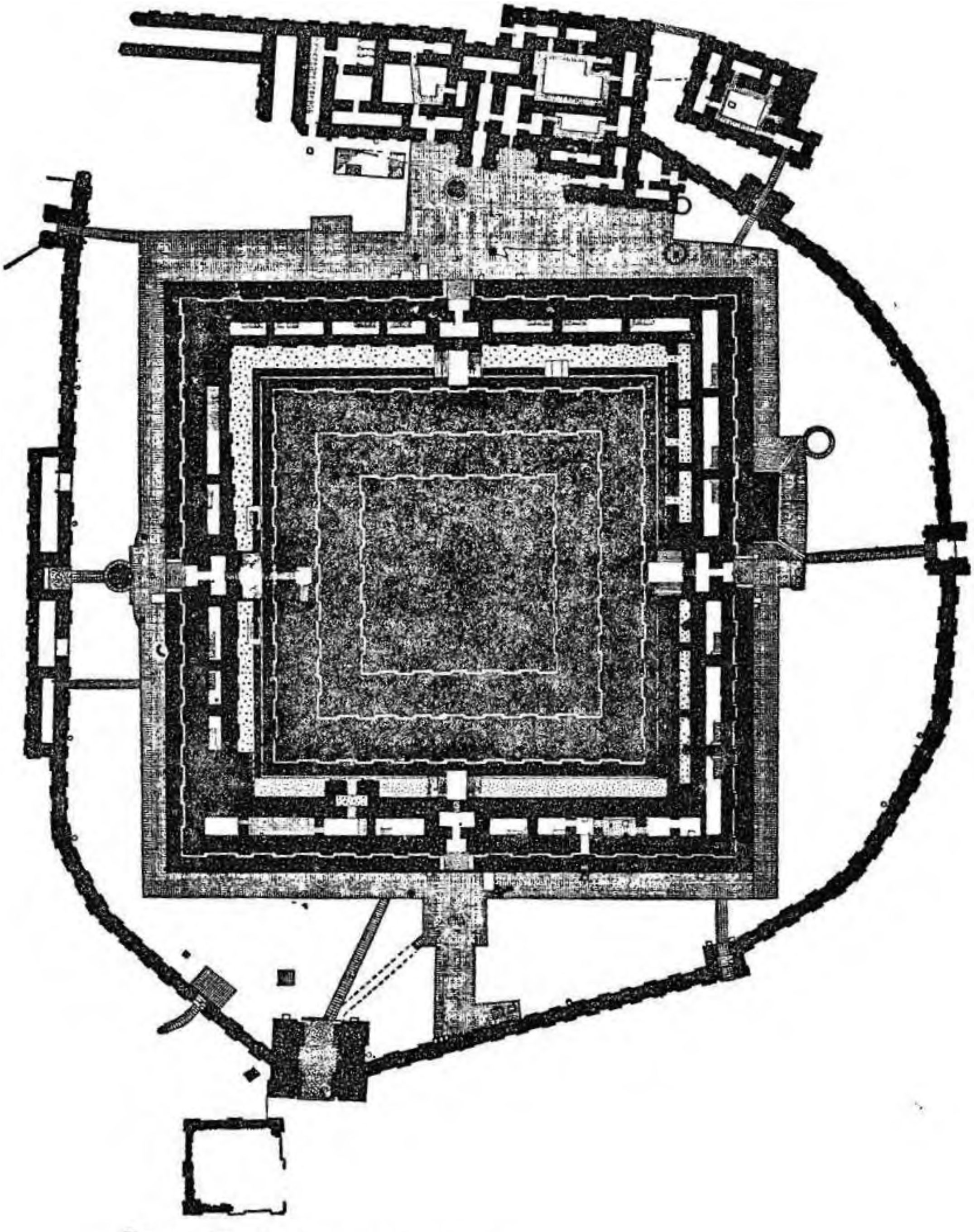


FIG. 34 – *Plan of the ziggurat of Tchoga Zanbil.*

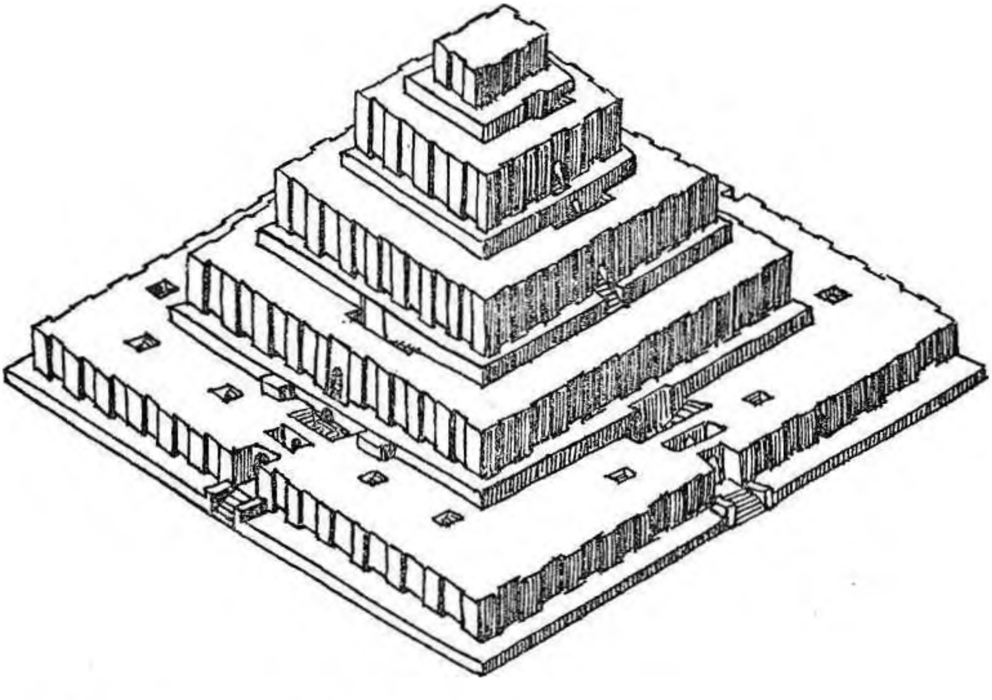


FIG. 35 – *Reconstruction of the ziggurat of Tchoga Zanbil.*

The sanctuary of Tchoga Zanbil was separated from the surrounding plain by an outer wall which measured 1200 × 800 metres. An inner wall enclosing the ziggurat and its courts measured 400 × 400 metres. It was pierced by seven gates of varying importance, all leading to the courts of the ziggurat. It is this inner wall which appears in the photograph in Plate 11; above it rise the three storeys of the ziggurat which remain of the original five-storeyed building. The single storeys look like square terraces built one above the other; in reality each storey rises directly from the ground. According to the excavator, R. Ghirshman, the two outer lowest storeys were first built around a central open court. Subsequently the higher storeys were concentrically encased in this court, with the highest storey rising in the middle.

FIG. 34

PLATE 11 ABOVE

FIG. 35

In the second storey from the base several rooms were built behind the south-eastern façade. Ghirshman interprets the complex as the lower temple[25] in which the god Inshushinak, to whom the entire ziggurat was dedicated, was worshipped during the day. At night the god was thought to return to heaven, perhaps striding with gigantic steps up the ziggurat to the top, where a small temple is assumed to have stood. From this point the god would have ascended to heaven, and here he would have landed again in the morning. All this has been deduced from Mesopotamian parallels, however, and may or may not apply to Elamite beliefs.

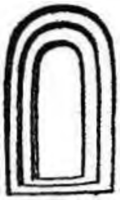


FIG. 36 – *Triple-arched niche in a round platform in the court of the ziggurat of Tchoga Zanbil, in front of the south-western façade.*

The few human beings, priests and dignitaries who were admitted to the upper storeys would have had to climb narrow stairs with very high steps, partly covered by brick vaults and partly open to provide light for the stairs. The visual impression of the ziggurat was mainly determined by the horizontal lines of the terraces and by the regular alternation of salients and niches which formed the principal decorative elements here, as in the mud-brick Mesopotamian temples from the fourth millennium onward. A new element of architectural decoration for which no earlier prototype is known is a triple-arched niche found to have decorated a round platform which had four such niches.[26] Two other platforms were found at Tchoga Zanbil, but they were too badly damaged to show any details. The curvature of these architectural forms contrasts strikingly with the prevalent rectangular forms employed in Babylonian architecture. FIG. 36

'Royal Gate' The principal gate which gave access to the courts surrounding the ziggurat was situated on the south-eastern side of the complex. It was called the 'Royal Gate' by the excavator both because of its large size and because of its decoration of glazed bricks and 'nails' with pommels holding flat tiles in place. The pommels bore the name of the builder of the ziggurat, Untashgal. They were covered with blue glaze like the tiles, which also had a restrained decoration of quarter-rosettes in the angles. Other tiles were decorated with disks of white and black glass in various sizes. Some of the bricks were blue, others green; some had circles with a white or blue centre, or white lozenge shapes on a lapis-lazuli blue background. The strong colour of these glazed bricks and tiles must have given a very festive air to the 'Royal Gate' as seen from the ziggurat.[27]

In front of the entrances to the ziggurat itself stood pairs of animals, of which a long-legged, slender humped bull whose head and legs were reinforced by copper rods was reconstructed by Madame Ghirshman.[28]

Ritual installations Before the principal entrance to the ziggurat, on the south-eastern side, two rows of sacrificial tables were made of big bricks forming low truncated pyramids. Between the last two tables there was a pit which the excavator assumes was meant to receive the blood of the sacrificial animals. Nearby he found an installation which he interpreted very convincingly as intended for liquid offerings, and facing both this installation and the pyramidal offering-tables were three large square tables made of baked brick placed against the enclosure wall; beside them was a large vessel probably intended for ablutions.[29]

We cannot judge to what extent these ritual, architectural and decorative elements so far described are typically Elamite because no Mesopotamian ziggurat of the same period is equally well preserved and shows so many details. A unique element, however, seems to be formed by the vaulted chambers found on three sides of the second storey of the ziggurat. Each chamber was accessible by a stairway, and no chamber communicated with the next. Some chambers formed a second inner row parallel to that of the rooms lying against the outside wall of the ziggurat. These inner chambers had been carefully filled up with bricks at the time when the core of the ziggurat was built in the inner court. Some of the outer chambers contained tiles and enamelled bricks as well as other materials which were doubtless used during the building of the sacred *Vaulted chambers*

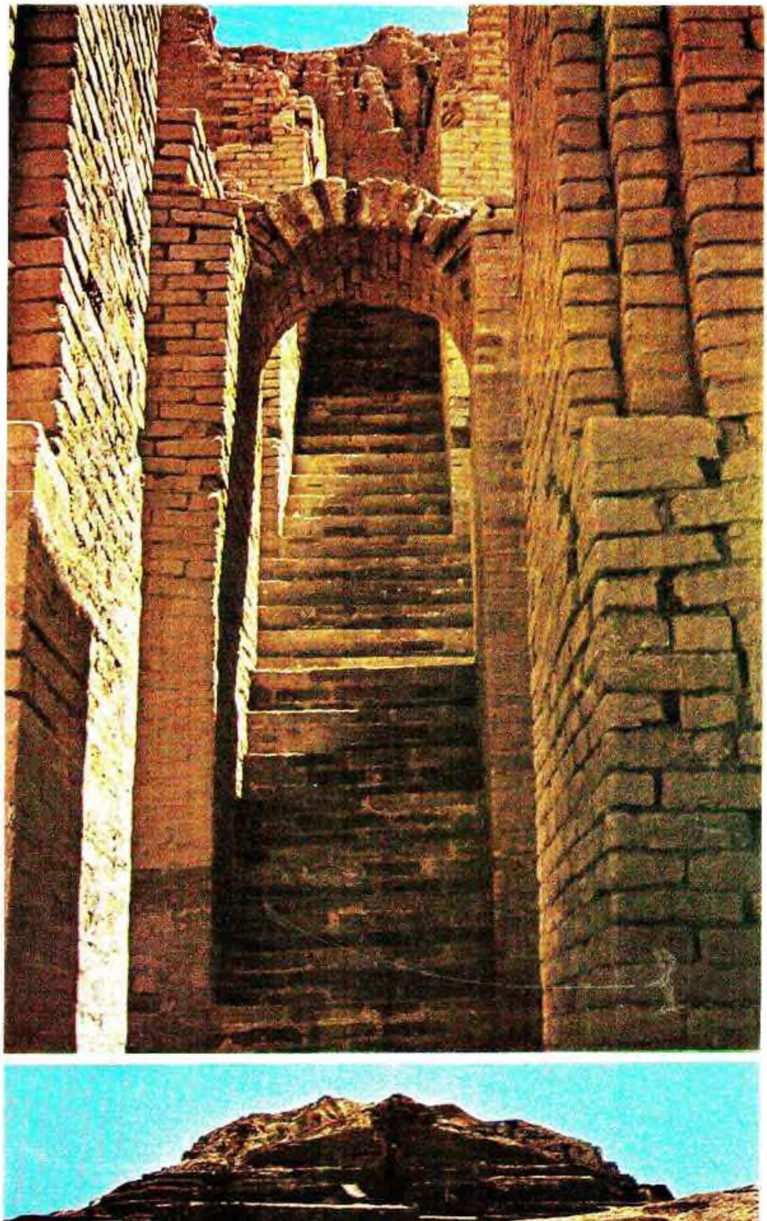


PLATE 11 – The ziggurat of Tchoga Zanbil. 13th century B.C. Above: stairways on the south-western side. Below: general view from the south-west. *Cf. pp. 55, 57.*

complex of Dur Untash, as Tchoga Zanbil was called in ancient times. The excavator doubts, however, that this was the function intended for these chambers, which are carefully finished and painted white with lime. He thinks that they were store-rooms for offerings, and he also does not rule out the possibility that they were intended for royal tombs. That they were obviously used only during the building of the sanctuary speaks for the fact that the latter was not completed.

Chapels and temples

Opposite the south-western façade of the ziggurat several chapels were erected in which votive offerings were deposited, for example, more than one hundred cylinder seals. Furthermore, there were several groups of temples in the vicinity of the ziggurat, nine in all, dedicated to different gods of the Elamite pantheon.

Palace of the dead

The most interesting structure aside from the ziggurat, however, is the palace, in the plan of which the position of the five tombs deep under ground level was obviously considered. The palace included a banqueting court and rooms which seem to have been pantries, to judge by the vessels which they contained. No living quarters, however, suggest themselves in the plan of this palace, which was obviously a hypogeum, perhaps comparable to the royal sepulchres at Ashur to which the Assyrian king Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) probably referred when he spoke of the 'palace of repose, the eternal abode'.[30] The tombs at Tchoga Zanbil were vaulted with baked brick set in bitumen and a quick-setting cement-like plaster. The use of bitumen in place of lime mortar seems to have been specifically Elamite; in Mesopotamia this material was as a rule employed only for installations in which seepage of water was to be prevented, such as bathrooms and drains.

Cremation

This cannot have been the case here because the deceased were cremated outside the tomb and only the charred remains of the skeletons, robes, jewellery and weapons were brought to the tombs. Yet Ghirshman has stated that in those cases where the tombs were intact the remains of two cremated persons could be distinguished. Only one skeleton was found which had not been cremated; it was lying on a bed-like platform beside the remains of two cremated corpses. Since the Elamites, like the Babylonians, were buried, not cremated, this evidence indicates that a different, perhaps western, custom prevailed in the royal house. One is reminded here of the cremation of Hittite kings and of one of the kings of Mitanni. Nowhere else, however, is there evidence of the wife accompanying her husband into death — as the remains of two people in each of four instances at Tchoga Zanbil strongly suggest.

We must state here, moreover, that so far no inscription has been found which would definitely identify the tombs and the cremated corpses with the kings of Elam.

METAL SCULPTURE

After the discussion of the ziggurat and the hypogeum one may view with special interest the unique model depicting a ceremony which must have taken place among surroundings resembling those of the ritual installations before the principal entrance of the ziggurat at Tchoga Zanbil. Most characteristic are the two rows of small knolls which closely resemble the pyramidal offering-tables excavated by Ghirshman. (FRONTISPIECE) Two stepped structures in the model may be abbreviated renderings of ziggurats or large offering-tables in architectural form. The model was found at Susa, in one of two vaulted rooms which had been despoiled in antiquity but which could have been tombs like those described above.[31] The model was completely encased in gypsum so that it appeared in the masonry of one of these vaulted rooms as a large white tile with green spots of oxidization on the surface. Subsequently the gypsum was carefully removed and the entire scene appeared, though the foliage of the trees and other delicate details were for ever lost. According to the inscription the model represents a scene at sunrise and was made for King Shilhak-Inshushinak (1165–1151 B.C.).[32] This is the only scene in Western Asiatic art preserved in three-dimensional form. It undoubtedly represents a ritual ceremony which would have been recorded in written form elsewhere in Western Asia.

The execution of the model shows that attention was paid to natural proportions but that the forms were greatly simplified. The bodies of the two men, for example, are rounded but show no subtle modelling of the surface. Tentatively we shall henceforth use this simplified rounded style of the model as a criterion for dating in the time of Shilhak-Inshushinak, that is, in the twelfth century B.C.

Statute of Napirasu

FIG. 37

The two greatest works of Elamite sculpture, however, belong to a slightly earlier time. They are the bronze statue of Queen Napirasu, wife of Untashgal, in the Louvre and the copper head of an Elamite in the Metropolitan Museum. The upper part of the statue of Napirasu can almost be inscribed within a rectangular block, while the skirt which covers her lower body has the form of a tall, very slightly flaring bell. A pattern of small circles enclosing a dot covers the upper part of the garment; long fringes decorate the upper part of the skirt at the back and are brought forward to frame on both sides a rich pattern of columns filled with alternating strips of zigzag and hatching and bordered by zigzag lines, almost suggesting a derivation from patterns of architectural origin. All these lines run horizontally or vertically except for the softly undulating fringes at the bottom of the skirt. In the absence of the statue's head, its hands attract the viewer's attention even more than might have been the case in the original state. Even in the original state, however, these hands with their long and slender fingers, of which only one is adorned with a ring — and their quiet pose — must have imparted a certain calm and elegance to the statue.

It is not known how the statue was made. All that can be said here is that the surface details just described indicate the delicacy of the execution; at the same time the exposed parts of the bronze interior — in which rods of an armature seem to be recognizable — suggest that the metal was not poured at one time. One may therefore doubt that the figure was hollow cast and then filled up, as stated in the original publication.[33] That this was not the practice of Iranian metal-workers is indicated also by the great head in the Metropolitan Museum, which is cast solid (Fig. 38). The features have probably been coarsened by the disintegration of the copper. Thus the eyelids may seem heavier now than they originally were; the nose, which seems so thick as to suggest a feature characteristic of some individual, may again have been accidentally enlarged. The mouth, however, with the beautifully curved lips and the heavy moustache, can be fully appreciated even now.

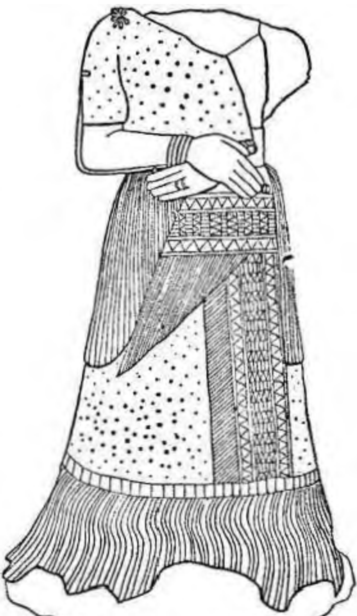


FIG. 37 – *Statue of Napirasu, wife of the Elamite king Untashgal (about 1275-1255 B.C.). Said to be of bronze. Louvre, Paris.*

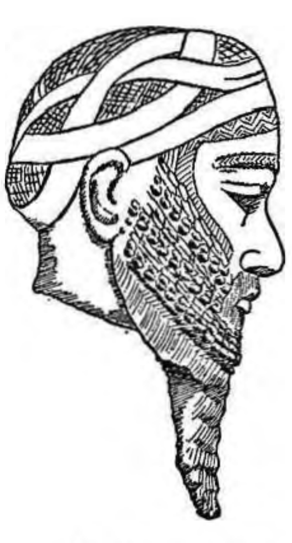


Fig. 38 – *Head of an Elamite. Copper, solid cast. Middle of the 2d millennium B.C. or earlier. Said to have been found in Azerbaijan in the region of Lake Urmia. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

The head is distinguished from Babylonian sculptures by the rendering of the eyebrows, which do not meet over the nose but terminate on either side of it in a sharp oblique line. This sets the eyes further apart and gives a distinctive cast to the man's face. Lines on the forehead were probably intended to indicate his mature age. The patterns formed by the curls of the beard as well as the ornaments of the asymmetrical headgear, which consists of a chequered piece of cloth over which ribbons are wound, stress the contrast between the inanimate materials and the face, which thereby seems more alive, more human than it actually is. The dating of this head was much discussed. It may belong to the second half of the second millennium, but it may also have been made somewhat earlier.[34]

'Head of an Elamite'

The head has been called 'Head of an Elamite', which raises a problem since the object is said to have been found in Azerbaijan. It is possible that there existed in Azerbaijan a centre in which workshops produced objects related to those of Elamite style, but so far no archaeological expedition has discovered sculptures of such quality outside Susa.

Figurines of gold and silver

PLATE 12 ABOVE

The heads of two small figurines found at Susa, one of gold with a considerable amount of silver, occasionally called electrum, the other of silver, each carrying a sacrificial goat, somewhat resemble the 'Head of an Elamite', though they are more simplified and also show differences in detail. In the faces of the figures the eyes seem to be placed somewhat obliquely, an impression also created by the copper head.[35] The eyebrows of the figurines meet above the nose, which differentiates them from the copper head; instead of describing semicircles as in Babylonian sculpture, however, the eyebrows of the figurines are much straighter, so that they somehow create an effect related to that of the eyebrows in the copper head. Furthermore, the straight nose of the silver figurine may resemble that originally given the copper head, while that of the gold figurine is broader. Despite minor differences, eyes, eyebrows, nose and also the generous moustache worn by the persons portrayed seem to render a related ethnic type.

We can only guess that the large copper head belonged to a royal statue, but we are on more solid ground with the figurines, which surely represent a king in constant prayer and sacrifice before his deity. The dedication in a temple of a valuable statue of the ruling king was frequently used in Babylonia as an event after which the entire year was named.[36] No text, however, unequivocally mentions the dedication of a gold and a silver statue. If we are right in assuming that an Elamite king dedicated two such images of himself, this would be a specifically Elamite practice.

PLATE 12 BELOW

The two figurines and a whetstone topped by a feline head in gold were found buried near the large group of objects deposited under the temple of Inshushinak,[37] built in the twelfth century B.C. by the Elamite king Shilhak-Inshushinak. One wonders, however, whether objects of such great value were really deposited in the foundations of a temple. In general such figures of gold or silver

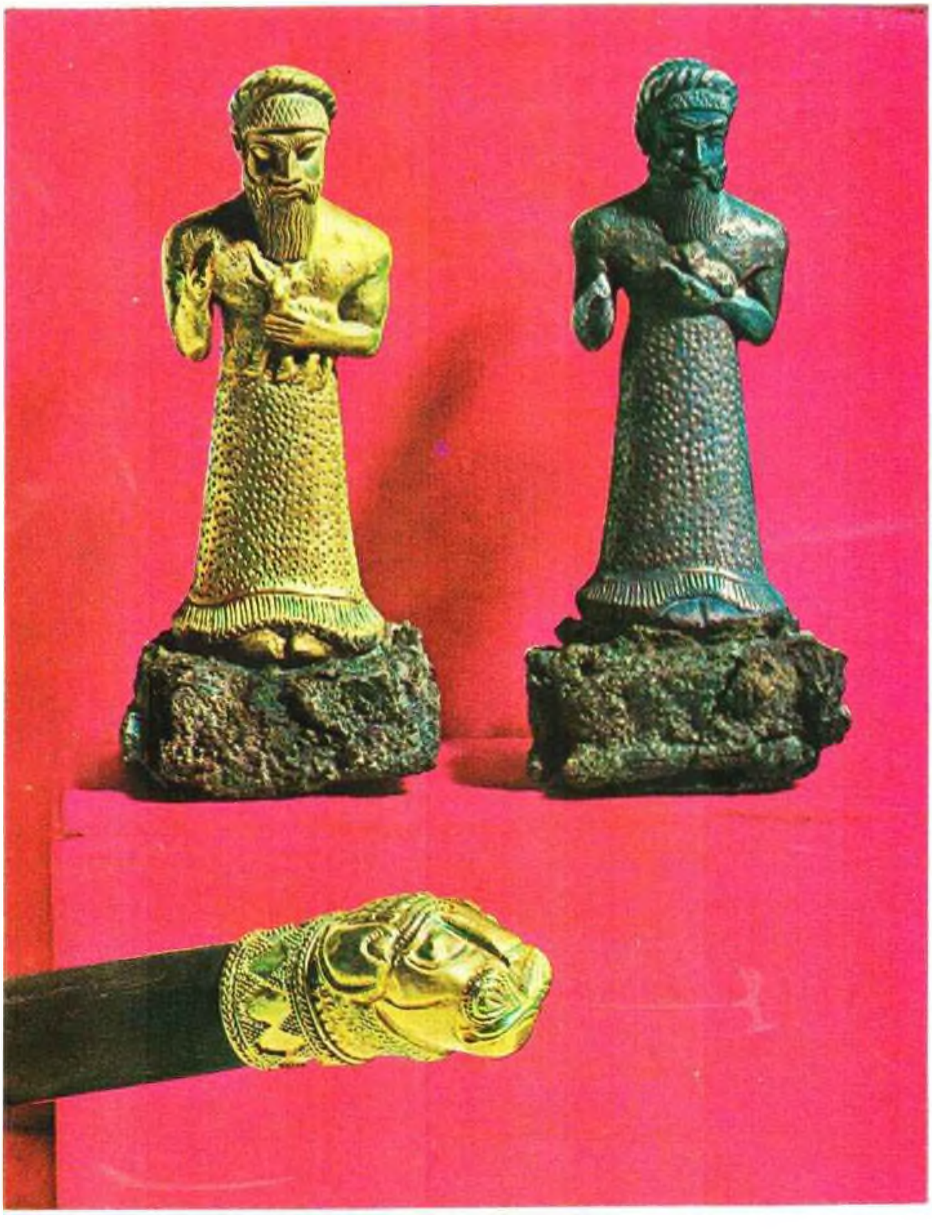


PLATE 12 – Figurines of gold and silver and lion-head finial of a whetstone, all from Susa. Middle Elamite, 13th-12th century B.C. *Louvre, Paris. Height of gold figurine about 6.3 cm, silver figurine about 6 cm. Length of lion-head finial 3.3 cm, entire length of whetstone 15.5 cm. Cf. p. 62.*

representing the king as an offerer not only served a pious purpose but also had a value in ostentation that should not be underrated. This fact also speaks against De Mecquenem's later assertion that the gold statuette and the objects associated with it were originally funerary deposits.[38]

While it is therefore not certain that the place where these figures were found indicates a date before or in the time of Shilhak-Inshushinak, this is likely on stylistic grounds. The hair style and costume of the figures, the latter strewn with dots (reminiscent of the small circles which cover the garments of Napirasu) and bordered with a short fringe at the bottom, and the precious material point to a date in the latter part of the second millennium B.C. rather than to the first millennium. It is possible that the large head was made about the time of the figurines; as mentioned above, however, a somewhat earlier date cannot be excluded.

The golden lion's head of the whetstone, found together with the figurines and reproduced with them in Plate 12, shows greater stylization than the human figures. The formation of the leonine features, especially the large eye with the upper lid raised almost to a point and the beaded patterns of muzzle and mane, as well as the rendering of the lips by a continuous cord-like line, manifests a definite style particularly suited in its simplicity to the decoration of tools.[39]

Rein-ring with ibexes

FIG. 31

PLATE 13

A more rounded and naturalistic rendering of animals is found in a rein-ring with two ibexes standing on either side of a tree. This motif is found in related form in an Elamite cylinder seal, and it seems likely that the rein-ring shows a transposition of the more or less two-dimensional form of the cylinder into the three-dimensional one of the rein-ring.

The shape of the rein-ring continues one which was developed in the Early Dynastic period of Mesopotamia and is documented in the Royal Cemetery of Ur. Its survival in Elamite times would not be surprising in view of the tenacity of earlier tradition in the art of Iran.[40]

RELIEFS

FIG. 39

FIG. 40

FIG. 12

The reliefs of the Middle Elamite period offer several examples of survival of earlier motifs. The most important of these reliefs is the great stele dated in the thirteenth century B.C. by an inscription of Untashgal. While the king and his consort, Napirasu, and her mother appear to have been rendered in a flat and stiff manner, at least as far as the remaining parts of the figures permit one to judge,[41] greater interest is created by the varied outline and textures of the demon with moufflon's or ram's horns, who may be derived from the demon of prehistoric Iranian stamp seals and who may be linked to demons on bronzes from Luristan discussed below. One wonders whether the demon's beaked profile with receding forehead and chin, not found in other Elamite sculptures of human figures, could have been meant to characterize an inhabitant of the mountainous regions bordering Elam.[42] The profile of the demon seems more exaggerated than that of the water goddess of the register above. As on a cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil, the goddess seems to grasp streams which flow from vases but which may have been meant to originate in the fins that replace the feet of the water goddess. Like the figure of the demon, the water goddess may reflect earlier iconographic traditions, such as the rendering of the watercourses in rope-like form which can be seen on the steatite vase from Khafaje of the early third millennium B.C. In turn, much later concepts concerning a vital fluid[43] could have been influenced by renderings like those of the stele. While the stele of Untashgal was buried in the ruins of Susa after the destruction of the town by Ashurbanipal, some rock reliefs which I would tentatively assign

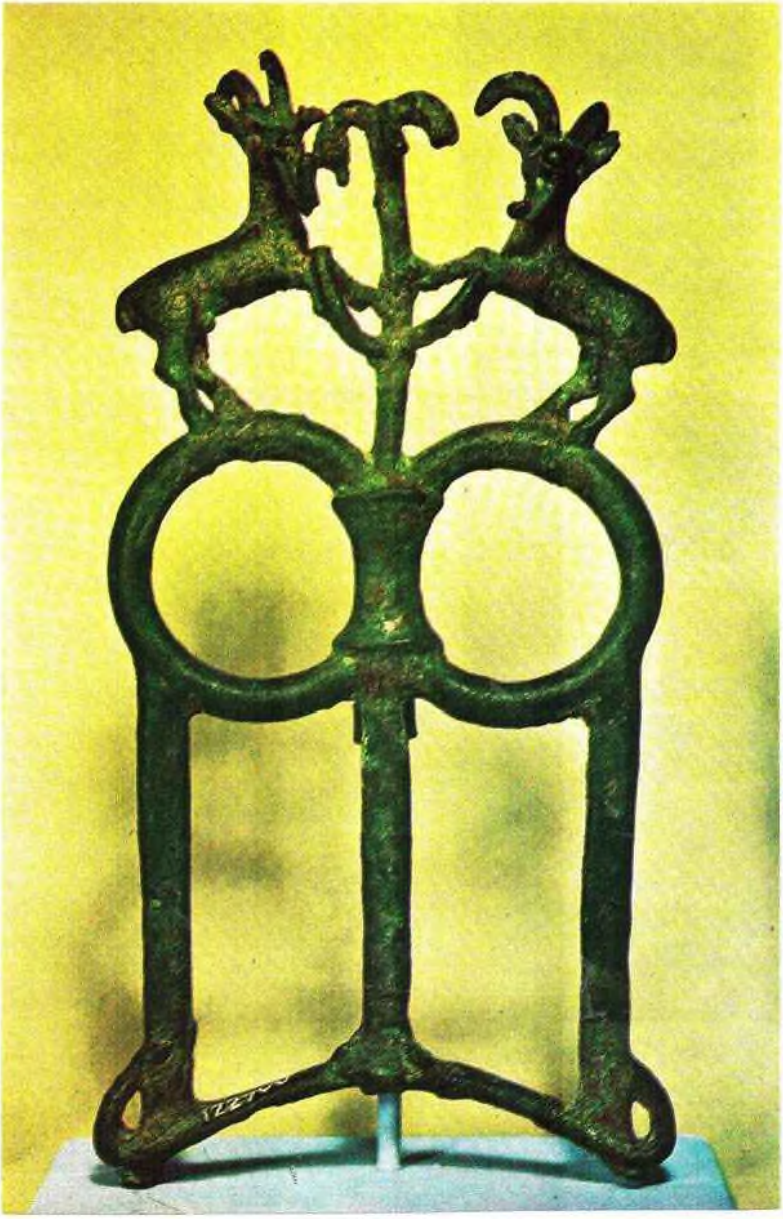
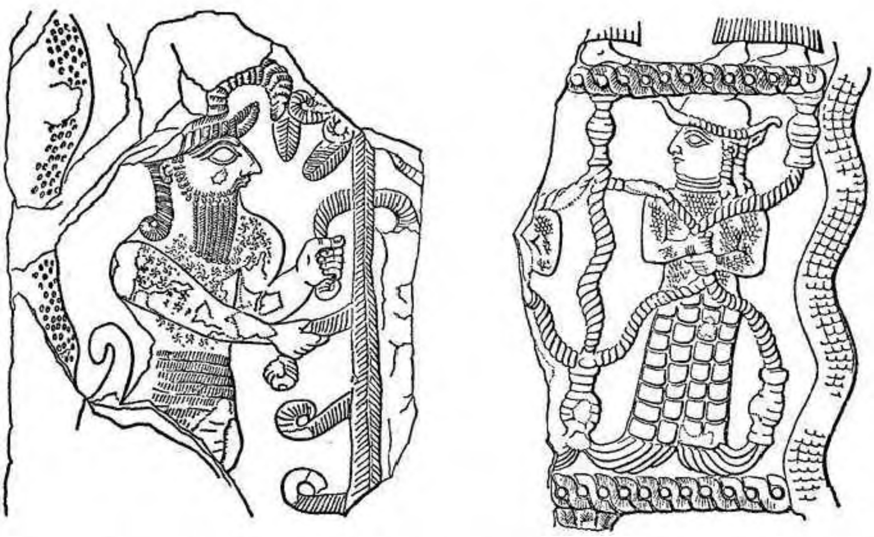


PLATE 13 – Rein-ring with young ibexes. Bronze. Probably Middle Elamite, 12th-11th century B.C. *British Museum. Height 16.5 cm. Cf. pp. 64, 86.*



FIGS. 39 and 40 – *Details of the stele of Untashgal. Middle Elamite, 13th century B.C. Left: demon with moufflon horns. Right: water deity.*

to the Middle Elamite period survived and may have preserved motifs of Elamite iconography for a later time. The best preserved of these reliefs is the one on the rock of Kurangun in the Bakhtiari mountains, several hours northwest of Shiraz on a high cliff seen from afar. In the main scene, which is enclosed in a rectangular frame, a god sits on a throne formed by the coils of a serpent which he holds by the neck. He also holds a vessel from which two streams of water flow. One stream forms a canopy over the god and a goddess behind him and is probably caught in a vessel held by an attendant. The other stream flows toward the long-robed slender worshippers approaching the deities. A large number of squat pig-tailed figures in short kilts are carved on the rock as if descending toward the principal scene. There is a considerable difference in style between these figures and those of the main scene, which has been explained by assuming that this scene was re-cut at a later time than the procession of worshippers. It is not possible to be definite about this, however, or to fix the date of the main scene with any certainty. One can merely say that a god with a flowing vase first occurs in the Akkad period (*c.* 2370–2230 B.C.) but that the motif of the flowing vase survived in varied and extended form in the Middle Elamite period, as shown by the examples on the stele of Untashgal. It is not impossible therefore that the relief of Kurangun was made in the middle or even in the latter half of the second millennium B.C.[44]

Relief of Kurangun

FIG. 41

FIG. 42 The principal scene of the relief of Kurangun was copied several centuries later at Naqsh-i Rustem, but this relief was almost completely eliminated by a relief of the Sasanian king Bahram II (A.D. 276–293). Only the two figures at either end are well preserved; they probably represent the Elamite king and queen who had the relief made. The king wears the pointed headgear typical of the Neo-Elamite period;[45] the queen wears the battlemented crown that is also worn by the Assyrian queens of the seventh century B.C.[46]

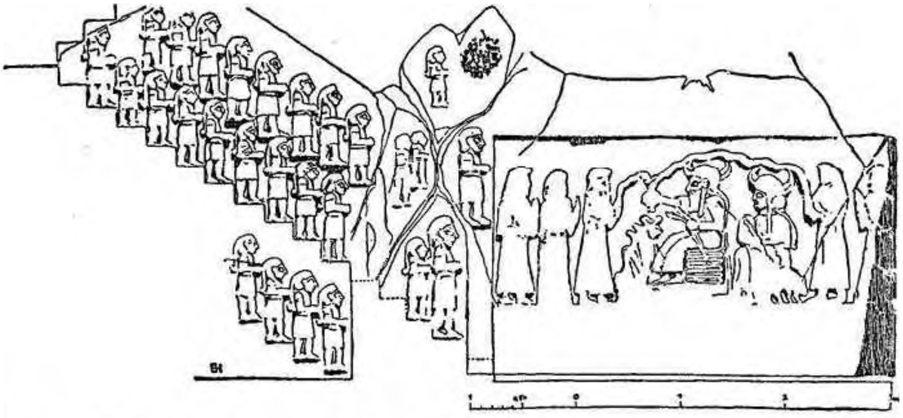
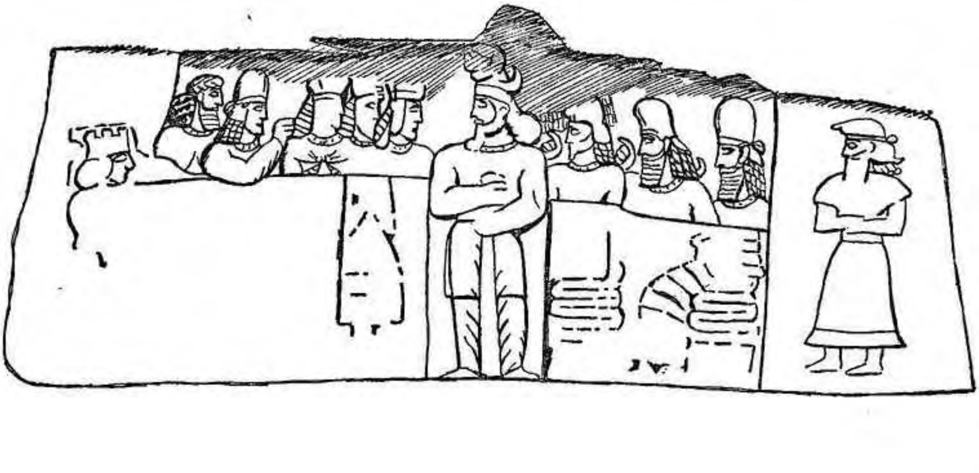


FIG. 41 – *Rock relief of Kurangun. Middle Elamite, 15th-11th century B.C.*

FIG. 43

To the same Neo-Elamite period as the relief of Naqsh-i Rustem also belongs the relief of a woman spinner from Susa, here reproduced to show the survival from Early Dynastic times of female figures in a seated posture with what must have been crossed legs. Another survival is shown in the servant with a fan of the same rectangular shape as that seen on Middle Elamite cylinder seals. The rounded relief of the piece brings out fully the artist's delight in observation of details of dress and jewellery, of hair style and furniture. None of the reliefs, however, approach the expressiveness found in the metal sculptures. One would like to conclude from this that the Elamites were principally metal-workers who favoured more than other techniques that of modelling in wax in preparation for casting.

FIG. 42 – *Rock relief of Naqsh-i Rustem; a Sasanian relief of Bahram II (A.D. 276-293) was carved over a Neo-Elamite relief, discernible traces of which include an Elamite queen with mural crown at the left, an Elamite king at the right, and partial figures in the lower centre. Neo-Elamite relief: 9th-7th century B.C.*



GLAZED EARTHENWARE AND FAIENCE

Middle Elamite style

Elamite work in glazed earthenware and faience is related to this technique of modelling in a soft material and was of equal if not of greater importance than metal in the decoration of Elamite palaces, temples, and probably also more modest homes. Unfortunately, most of the earthenware and faience[47] objects have lost their brightly coloured glaze and therefore look dull. Painted and glazed earthenware tiles, objects of faience, and glass all appear at the same time in the Middle Elamite period.[48] Glazed faience and glazed earthenware were widely produced throughout Western Asia around the middle of the second millennium B.C. In Nuzi, near modern Kirkuk in northern Mesopotamia, large animal sculptures were produced in the latter material, and the same was done in Tchoga Zanbil.[49] Outside Tchoga Zanbil glass is found only rarely, and glazed tiles are not found at all at this time. They appear only later in Ashur, possibly under Elamite influence.[50] Conceivably there was in Elam a desire for and interest in production of cheap 'new' materials which had even greater brilliance and intensity of colour than the far more expensive natural stones like lapis lazuli. One may also think of the recurring indications — however slight — of direct contact by sea with Egypt, where glass was invented, probably at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and where the Elamites might have obtained formulas for producing glass. At any rate, the deep blue colour which they used for their cylinders is not used at other Western Asiatic sites.[51]

Glazed tiles

Glazed tiles began to be used in Elam in the time of Untashgal, as is shown by the excavations of Tchoga Zanbil (see p. 58 above). The tiles are blue, green or white, or have two of these colours combined, but they are not multi-coloured, nor do they have figured representations. Tiles which show such features surely mark a later development. Fragments of such tiles were found at Susa with glazed earthenware nails inscribed with the name of King Shilhak-Inshushinak (*c.* 1165–1151 B.C.) and also with glazed tiles of green and yellow colour which bore the name of Shutruk-Nakhunte (*c.* 1207–1171 B.C.). This evidence shows that there was in the twelfth century B.C. a further development in the decoration of glazed tiles.[52] We therefore date to this time a tile which shows a bird-footed demon standing on two griffins and probably holding two others in his hands. The composition resembles that of a cylinder from Tchoga Zanbil, Figure 27; the colours are strong, the forms carefully defined.

PLATE 14 BELOW

FIG. 27

Neo-Elamite style

The second fragment represents a different style. The drawing is cursory; the forms are thin and pointed. The neck of the bull on the fragment rises sharply,

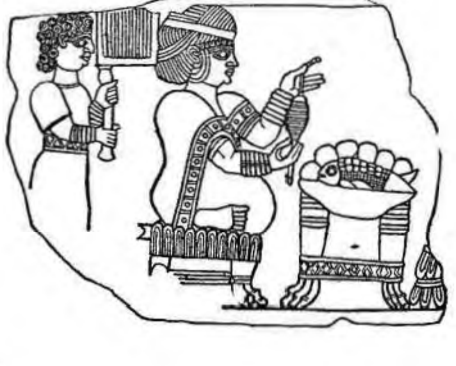


FIG. 43 – *Relief from Susa showing a lady spinning, fanned by her servant. Neo-Elamite, about 9th century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

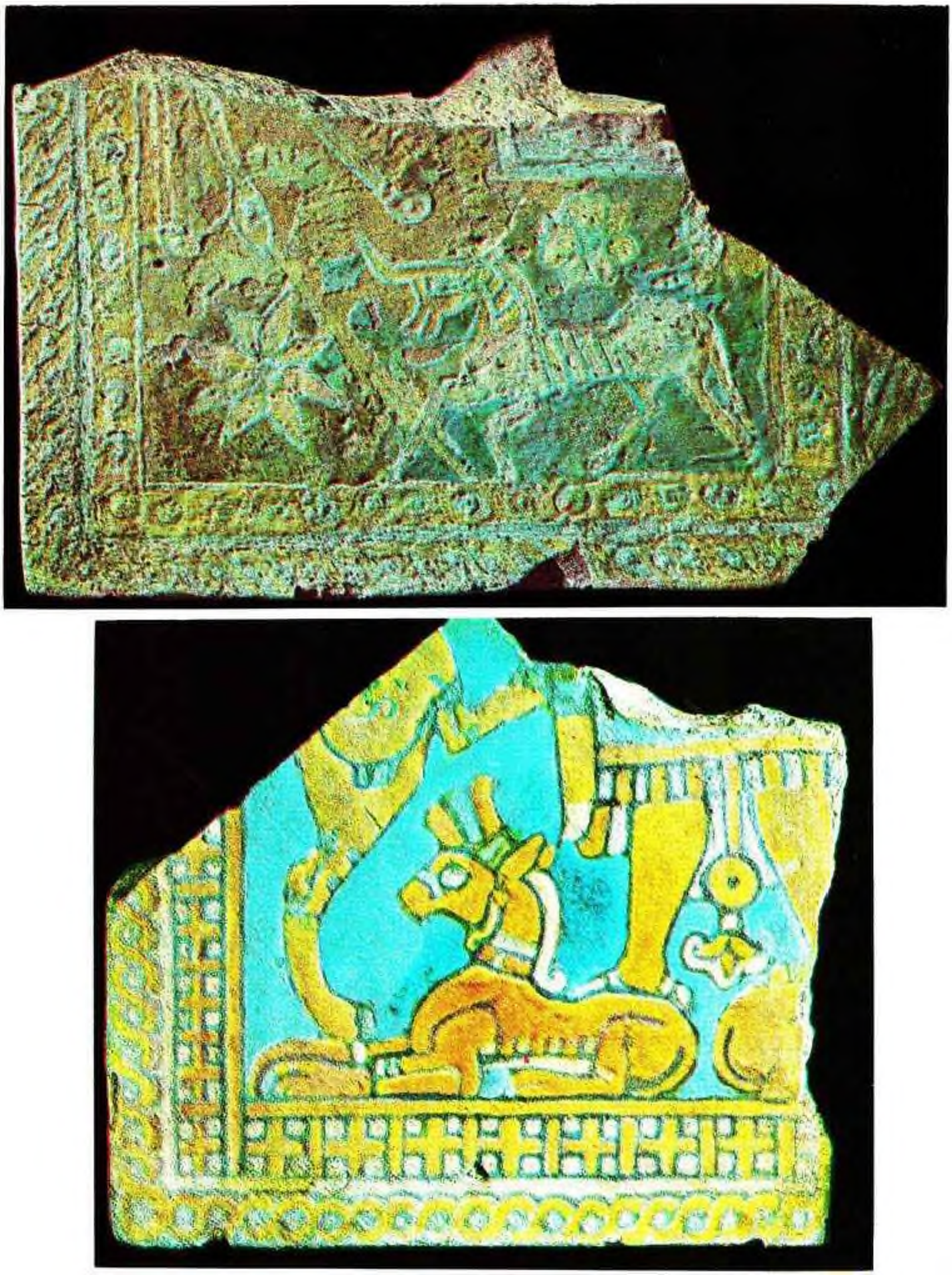


PLATE 14 – Glazed tiles from Susa. Above: Neo-Elamite, about 10th-9th century B.C. *Length 26.3 cm, height 15 cm.* Below: Middle Elamite, about 12th-11th century B.C. *Louvre, Paris. Length 20.5 cm, height 18 cm. Cf. pp. 68, 70, 76.*

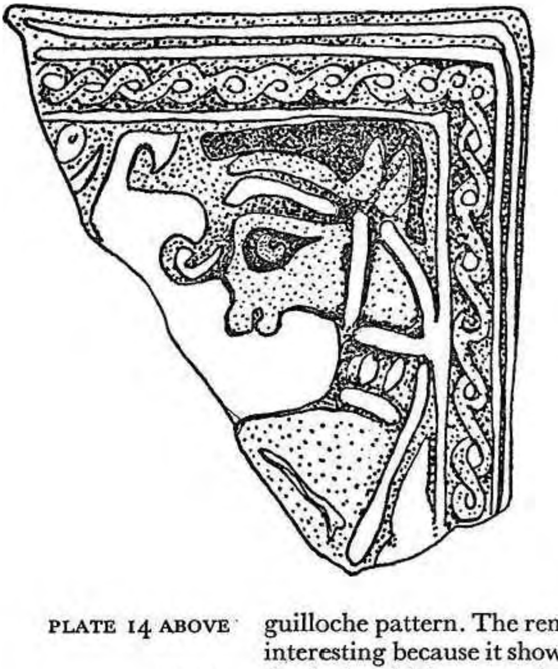


FIG. 44 – *Fragment of a glazed tile from Susa, showing the head of a horned animal. Probably Neo-Elamite. 10th-9th century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

then the line runs horizontally to the sharp bend of the horn. In contrast to this the curve in the neck of the griffin on the first fragment is smoothly rounded and terminates in the slight countercurve of the griffin's crest. Moreover, the colour of the second fragment is much duller than that of the first, although here accidental factors may have played a role in changing the original colours of the tile.[53]

The two styles represented here can scarcely belong to the same period. The cursory one is probably later and may be tentatively assigned to the tenth or ninth century B.C., which means that it would be Neo-Elamite. Another fragment from Susa which seems to belong to this late style shows a similar cursory treatment of the guilloche pattern. The rendering of the horned animal in this third fragment is interesting because it shows a curvature of the neck and an abstract division of the body which are reminiscent of the Luristan bronzes to be discussed below. The style here represented also seems to be reflected in Elamite cylinder seals, for the bull in the tile recalls the slender bulls with sharply bent horns in Figure 28. Moreover, the uncertain position of the bull's forelegs is comparable to the insecure postures of the demon and the animals in the cylinder seal. Such painstaking comparisons of small details are necessary in order to obtain some tentative outline of the development of Elamite art at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

PLATE 14 ABOVE

FIG. 44

FIG. 28

NEO-ELAMITE FAIENCE AND BRONZE

Somewhat later works of Neo-Elamite art can be recognized in several faience vessels and objects hammered in bronze, called repoussé work. The faience vessels are small jars similar to the small round boxes of ivory made in Syria in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. One of them even has the same pattern of rosettes and double lotus-blossoms found in the diadem of an ivory head of the eighth century B.C. excavated at Nimrud.[54] These Syrian ivories probably indicate the date at which the Elamite jars were made. The jars rarely have a figured decoration, but one example has designs in flat relief and also heads worked in the round in place of the bosses seen on other jars for fastening the lid to the vessel. The reliefs show on one side a griffin and on the other a winged and bearded sphinx. The horned mitre of the sphinx has a curious shape; the horns are bent forward with the tip pointing down. At the back of the cap there is an inexplicable oblique strip, like the end of a band. Above the cap rises a globe. These three characteristics are found again on the horned mitres of bull-men seen on a bronze quiver of which the lower half is reproduced here. Again a small detail has led us from one work of art to another. The fact that we are not mistaken in assuming that the faience vessel and the bronze quiver belong to the same general style is indicated by the composition, which shows rosettes and other fillers placed in the larger intervals between the figures. In both the jar and the

FIG. 45

FIG. 46

PLATE 15 RIGHT

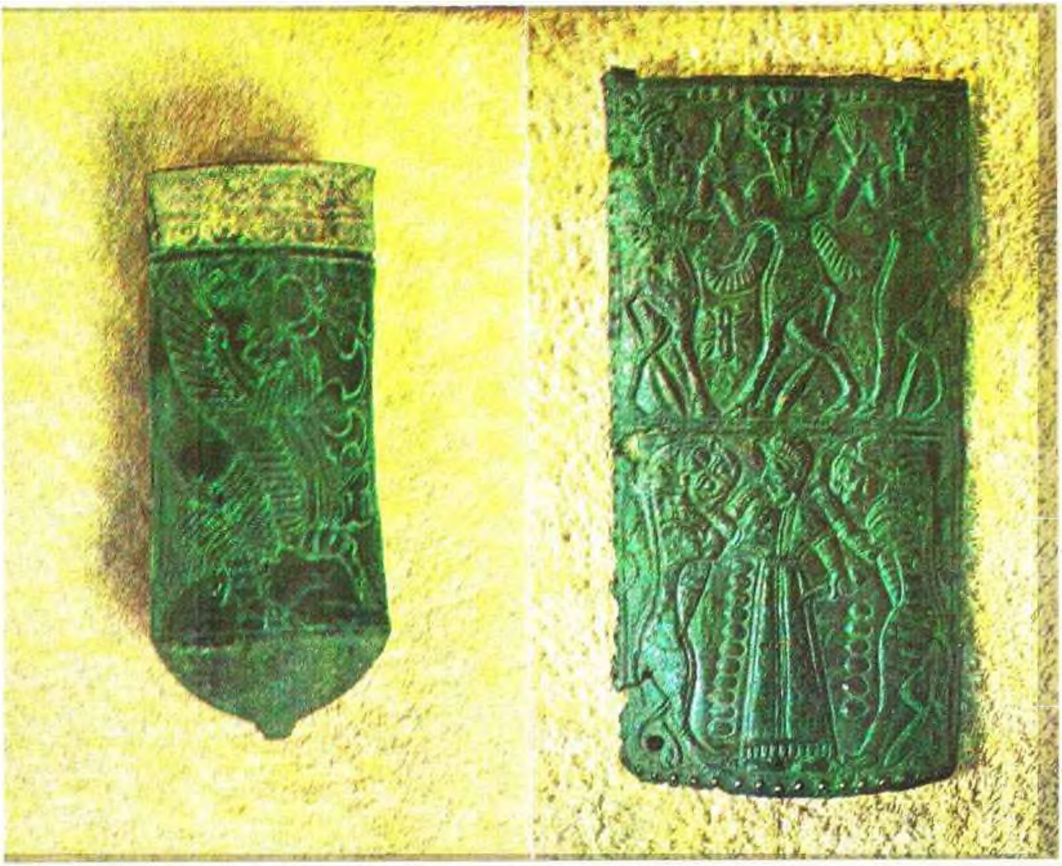
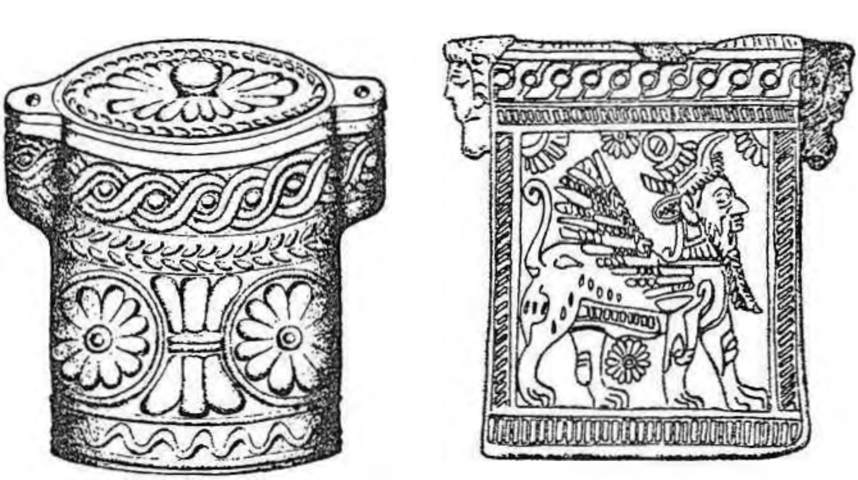


PLATE 15 – Neo-Elamite bronze repoussé work, about 9th-8th century B.C. Left: situla with human-headed, bearded ibex and tree. *Height about 16.5 cm, diameter about 6.5 cm-5.3 cm, since upper rim is somewhat bent.* Right: half of a panel for a quiver. *Height about 22 cm, width about 13.5 cm (above) and 10.5 cm (below). N. Heeramaneck Collection, New York. Cf. pp. 70, below and 166.*

bronze, the figures are characterized by fleshy noses, large eyes and round mouths. Perhaps one may relate this striking facial type and the Syrian elements in this stylistic phase of the ninth to the seventh century B.C. with the presence of many Arameans in Elam at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

A group of Neo-Elamite bronze objects which should be associated with the bronze quiver and the ivories are the so-called situlae, slender buckets of bronze with a conical base. The shape of these vessels was originally Egyptian, like the lotus pattern on the base. The style of the decoration of this group of situlae, however, is Neo-Elamite.[55] Our example shows a winged ibex with bearded human face beside a tree. Although the heavy forms and the fleshy nose of the demon remind us of the style of the quiver, the lines of the situla are nevertheless somewhat more fluid and the space is not as tightly filled. Conceivably this

PLATE 15 LEFT



FIGS. 45 and 46 – *Left: faience box from Susa with rosettes, double lotus-blossoms, guilloche and other patterns. Neo-Elamite, 9th-8th century B.C. Louvre, Paris. Right: faience box from Susa having on one side a human-headed, winged, bearded sphinx wearing a horned head-dress and on another side a griffin. On either side of the top of the box is a female head in the round. Neo-Elamite, 9th-8th century B.C. Louvre, Paris.*

marks a slightly later date for the situlae, but it is also possible that these variations are due merely to different workshops.

The situlae and the quiver were usually dubbed 'Luristan' because no comparable object of bronze has so far been found at Susa, while many bronzes of different styles were found in the mountainous region of Luristan, north-west of Elam. The reason why no metal objects of the early second millennium were found at Susa is surely to be found in the thorough pillaging of the town by the Assyrians in about 640 B.C.

Elamite bronzes in Luristan

It is more difficult to explain how Elamite bronzes came to Luristan. They could have been pillaged by robbers from Luristan, for the people of these mountain regions must have been as difficult to control in ancient times as they have been until very recently. It is also possible that Elamites seeking refuge in Luristan from Assyrian attacks brought some of their valuables with them. Modern tourists who know the searing heat of Susa in summer like to assume that the Elamites moved to the cool mountains in these months. Reasons against such a hypothesis are the above-mentioned custom of the modern townspeople to seek protection from the heat in subterranean chambers and, secondly, the disinclination of the inhabitants of ancient towns to venture into such dangerous regions as open and mountainous country. It is possible, however, that the Elamite rulers did not belong to the same urban tradition as their townspeople, if we are right in ascribing to the kings burial rites which involved cremation in contrast to inhumation in various types of graves for the townspeople. The royal family and the court may therefore have followed a different pattern of life from the common people and may have enjoyed hunting in the mountains during the summer. For such royal hunting parties valuable objects could have been brought to Luristan and kept there.

Lastly, it may be suggested that there were sanctuaries in the mountains of Luristan in which Elamite works of art could have been deposited as offerings, either by Elamites themselves or by people who obtained Elamite objects for votive purposes. This possibility seems the most likely for two reasons: one, the objects which have been found, such as bronze coverings of quivers, were not objects of actual use, since it has been shown quite conclusively that bronze sheathing offers poor protection in comparison to leather[56] and two, a sanctuary with votive objects was actually excavated near Surkh Dum in Luristan.

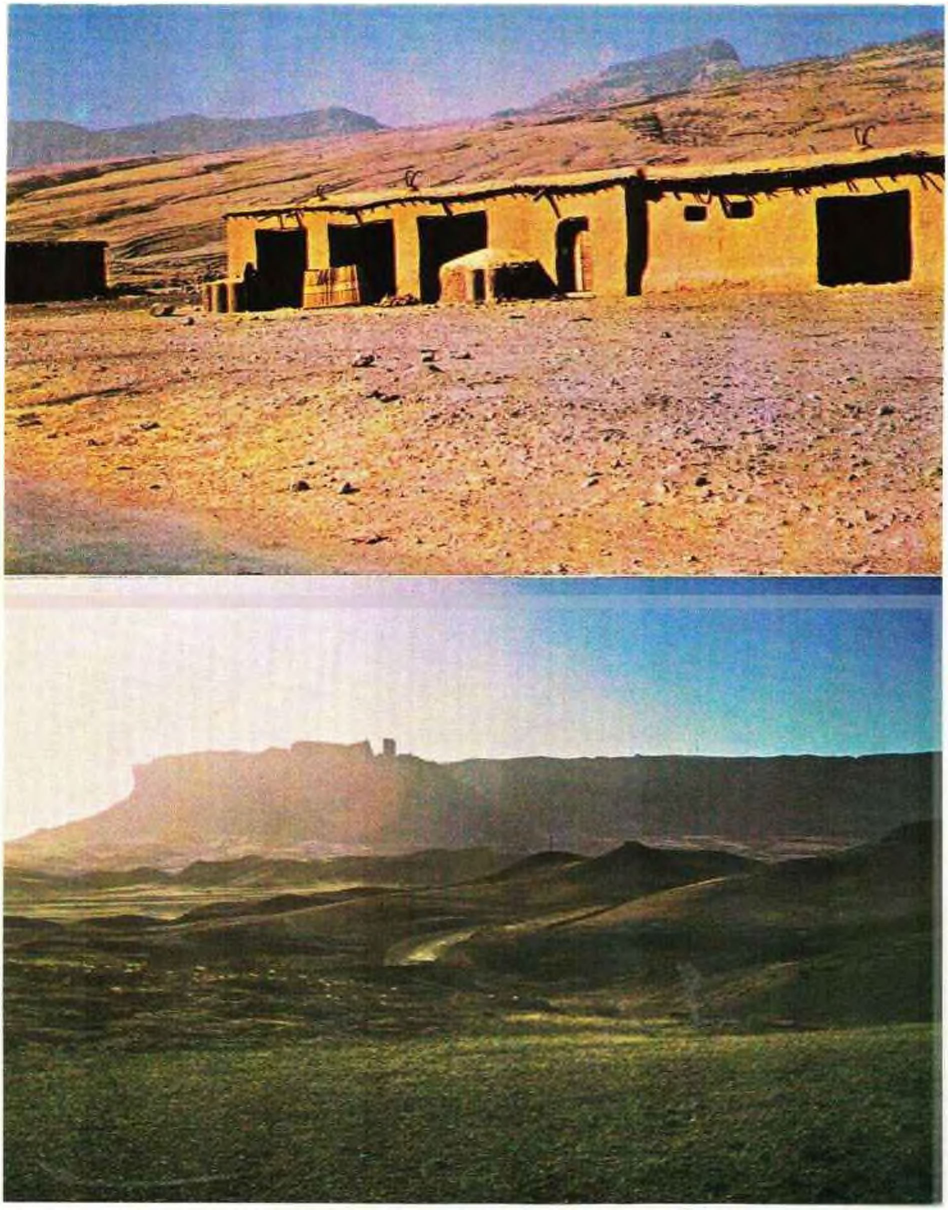


PLATE 16 – Above: village in southern Luristan. Below: view of the mountains at the entrance into Luristan. *Cf. p. 75.*

VI. THE BRONZES OF LURISTAN

THE REGION

PLATE 16 BELOW

PLATE 16 ABOVE

PLATE 17

About ten years ago it was still unsafe for tourists to venture into the mountainous region of Luristan, which derives its name from the Lurs, a tribal people who practised a little agriculture, raised horses and some cattle, and indulged from time to time in brigandry. Today one of the most scenic routes of the Near East leads from Susa to Khorramshahr and Burūdjird or Harsin to Kermanshah. At the entrance into the valley of the Kherka river, called Saimarreh in Luristan, the mountains rise like fortresses to protect this still remote region. The houses of the villagers, built of mud brick, have a striking feature: horns of an ibex, with the head partly modelled in clay over the bones of the cranium, are placed on the edge of the roof, usually above an entrance, perhaps to protect the dwelling.[1] This may reflect very ancient customs, though proof is lacking at present. The further one progresses toward the north of Luristan, the greener are the pastures in the valleys. This is good horse-breeding country, and we may assume that Kassites, Elamites and others obtained many of their horses from this region. Perhaps there was a connection between the breeding of horses and the mercenary military service engaged in by men of Luristan, by which some historians explain the presence in Luristan graves of daggers inscribed with the names of Babylonian kings of the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.[2] By some means the inhabitants of Luristan must have accumulated great wealth; it manifested itself in hundreds if not thousands of bronze objects taken illicitly from graves and perhaps also from sanctuaries in Luristan, such as the one excavated at Surkh Dum.[3] This excavation was carried out in 1937 but is still unpublished. A Danish expedition undertaken in 1963 discovered some tombs with bronzes and — it is hoped — will soon publish its important finds.

Problems of dating

Because very little is known about the circumstances under which most of the Luristan bronzes in museums and private collections were discovered, the dating of this material and the identity of the people who produced it are still subjects of lively controversy among scholars. The dates assigned to the bronzes vary from 1500 to 700 B.C.; some scholars would even include the span of the seventh century B.C. in the time during which bronzes were produced in Luristan. Among the people who were supposed to have created the bronzes are the Kassites of the sixteenth to twelfth century B.C. and the Cimmerians of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The great differences in the dates are due in part to the fact that the bronzes are often considered to have been produced within a relatively short time. In the present book, however, an effort is made to distribute them over a longer period.[4] This approach may also help to bring the problem of the originators of the bronzes a little closer to a solution.

SEALS

A few indications for classifying the groups of finds from Luristan are given by the seal types which are seen together with Luristan bronzes in dealers' shops and in collections. There were seal-rings and stamp seals of bronze, the latter often in the shape of very simplified birds; a few stamp seals were made of stone; and cylinder seals were made of stone, faience and bronze.

Seal-rings

FIG. 48

Two types of seal-rings are typical of Luristan; I have called them sheet-rings and lobed rings after the most salient feature of their shape. The sheet-rings are made of an engraved sheet of bronze, wider in front than at the back where the narrow ends are bent together. The lobed rings have the hoop greatly enlarged in front, forming an upper and a lower lobe which diminish in sharp curves

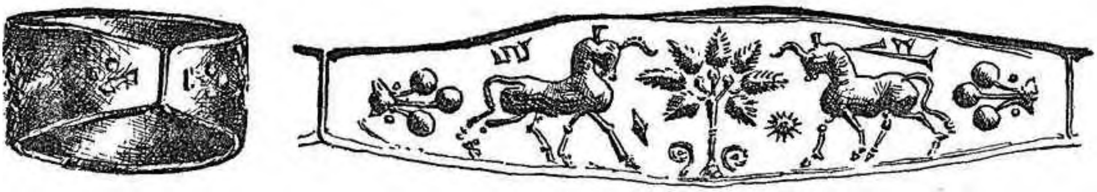


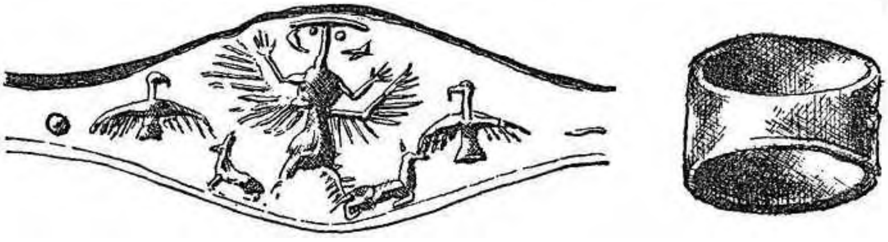
FIG. 47 – *Sheet-ring said to come from Luristan, showing bulls flanking a tree. Bronze. 12th-11th century B.C. City Museum, St. Louis.*

toward the back. These lobed rings were cast, and the design was subsequently
engraved — often merely scratched — on the front of the ring.

FIG. 47 The sheet-ring reproduced here shows in the centre of the design a tree with a
crown composed of the pointed serrated oval forms seen in an Elamite cylinder
FIG. 32 (Fig. 32); in the ring the tree is flanked by two bulls. The close resemblance to
the Elamite design precludes a much later date for the ring. Moreover, a closely
related design of a tree flanked by two confronted walking bulls is found in the
design of the king's crown on a Babylonian boundary-stone dated about 1100
B.C.[5] In the Babylonian example, however, the bulls do not have the same dis-
PLATE 14 ABOVE tinctive outline of neck and horn as in the seal-ring and also in an Elamite tile,
where the neck rises sharply at first and then bends, almost at a right angle, to
continue in a horizontal direction to the end of the horn. The Babylonian bulls
also lack the strongly arched breast and the long body on thin graceful legs of the
bulls on the Elamite tile and the sheet-ring from Luristan. To these principal
features one might still add a number of minor ones to prove the origin of this
and related sheet-rings in Iran.

No gradual transition can as yet be discerned from the sheet-rings to the lobed
FIG. 48 rings. The example chosen here shows a winged demon who stands on horned
animals. His frontally rendered head and raised hands with spread fingers
create an arresting impression. At the same time the rendering of the feet, placed
on the hindquarters of two recumbent horned animals, lacks definition. The
linear execution of the design and the slightly unbalanced posture of the demon
PLATE 14 BELOW differentiate the rendering of the lobed ring from an Elamite tile which, though
fragmentary, also shows a demon standing on two addorsed animals or rather
griffins. I think that the differences between the design of seal-ring and tile are
not only those of medium, locality and craftsmanship, but also of style, which in

FIG. 48 – *Lobed, cast ring said to come from Luristan, showing a demon standing on two horned animals. About 10th-9th century B.C. N. Heeramaneck Collection, New York.*



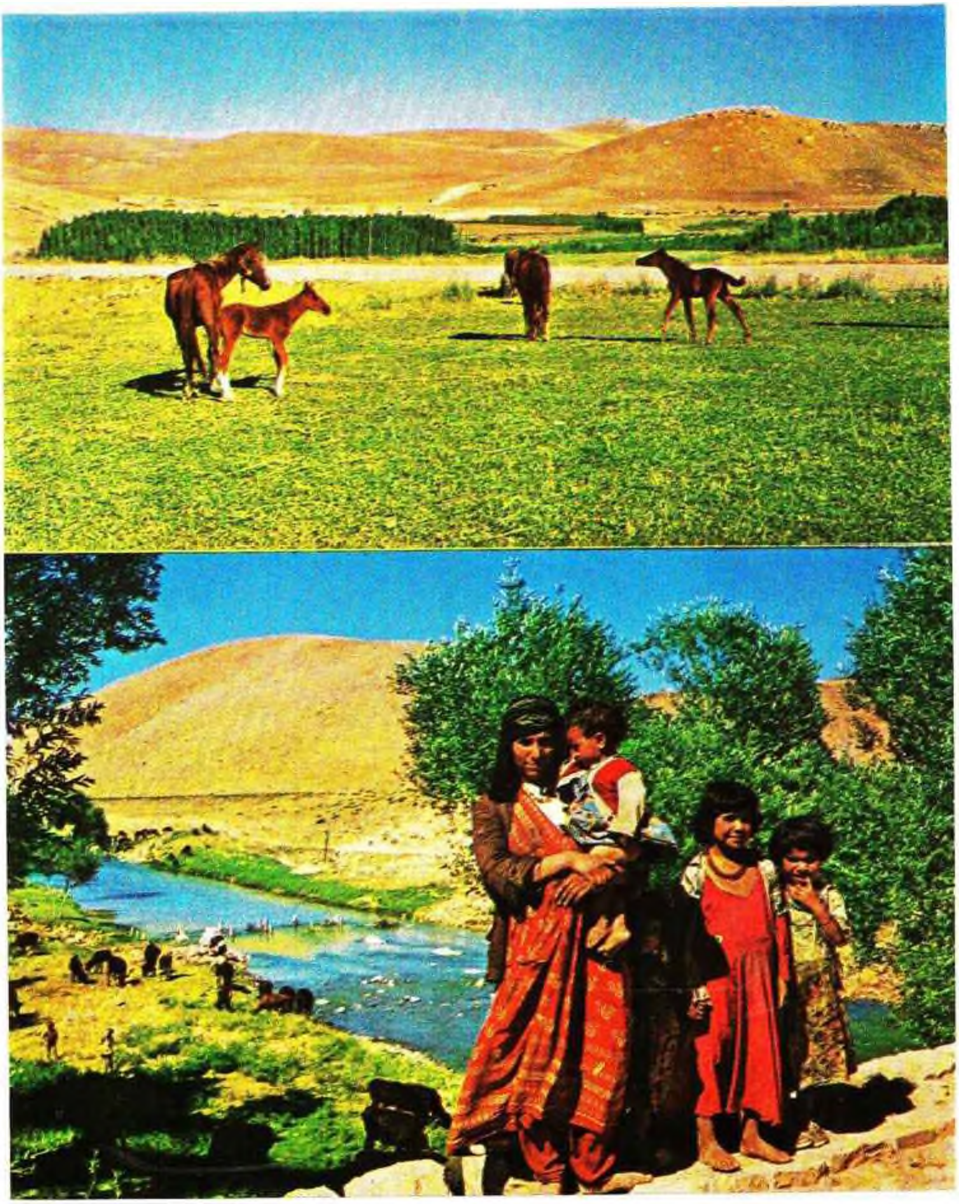


Plate 17 – Above: horses in a pasture in northern Luristan. Below: river in northern Luristan. *Cf. p. 75.*

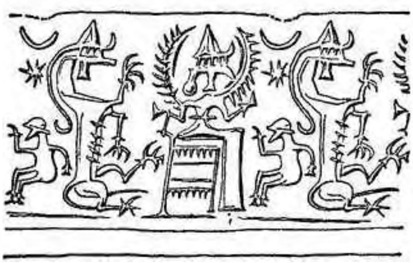


FIG. 49 – *Impression of a cylinder seal of black stone, said to come from Luristan, showing an enthroned deity and a feline monster. About 10th–9th century B.C. M. Foroughi Collection, Teheran.*

turn would express a difference in time. The rendering of the birds' wings in the seal-ring, for example, reminds one of the skeleton of a bird, an impression which is more in keeping with the lean bull of the Elamite tile tentatively dated in the tenth to ninth century B.C. than with the fat griffin solidly lying on the ground-line in the earlier Elamite tile, here dated equally tentatively in the twelfth to eleventh century B.C.

FIG. 47, 48 The two seal-rings shown here seem to represent two different phases in the art of Luristan: the first one, of the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C., under strong Babylonian influence; the second, dated to the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., based on Elamite prototypes but showing distinctive characteristics in the expressiveness of the often very simplified and linear representations.

Cylinder seal The cylinder seal from Luristan reproduced here also recalls earlier Elamite forms in a general way, although it is difficult to cite exact parallels. The en-
FIG. 49 throned deity with a horned mitre makes one think of an early Middle Elamite
FIG. 22 cylinder; however, the mitre in the cylinder from Luristan is differently shaped, and the deity has sabre-shaped wings, to cite only the most obvious difference. The goblin squatting before the deity may have been taken over from such ren-
FIG. 23 derings, as seen in an Elamite cylinder; this little figure appears in several Elamite examples and was also occasionally represented by the bronze-workers of Luristan.[6]

FIG. 49 The animal behind the throne on the cylinder from Luristan is a feline creature, to judge by its claws, perhaps intended to represent a lion, but of a supernatural variety since he has a horned mitre. The rendering of this animal in particular conveys an impression of thin, linear and pointed forms. These are criteria of style here assumed to point to a date in the tenth or ninth century B.C. The fringes on the throne of the deity, which occur in related manner on Assyrian cylinder seals approximately dated in the ninth century B.C. and probably earlier,[7] tend to confirm this date.

The date of the cylinder seal thus appears to correspond with that of the lobed rings, although the style of the latter differs from the cylinders in that it does not represent a well-defined stylistic group in which one or more artists had worked out certain conventions, such as the rendering of the claws or the mitres that are found on more than one cylinder seal. The bronze rings, on the contrary, differ from each other and seem to have been scratched almost accidentally and singly
FIG. 48 rather than by practised craftsmen. Yet renderings like the demon of Figure 48 are important because they reflect, however crudely, the themes current at that time in Luristan.

Plaque A square plaque, probably an amulet rather than a seal-stone, belonging to a

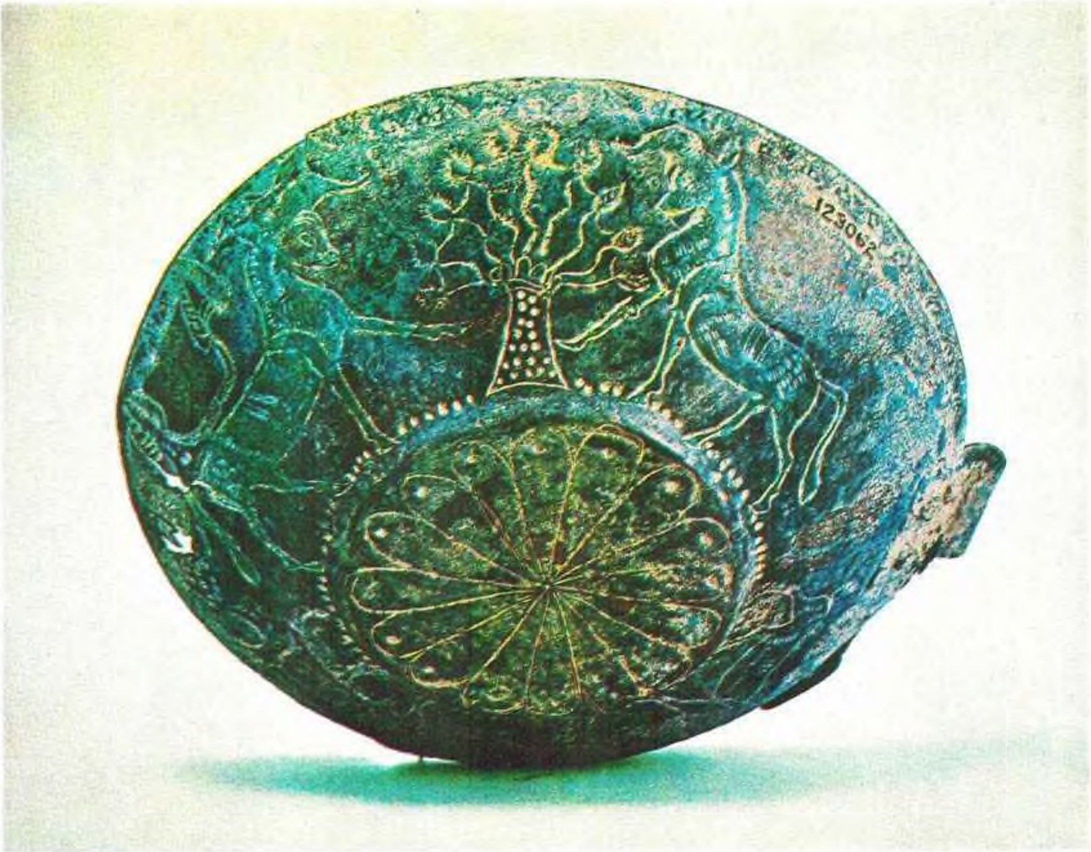
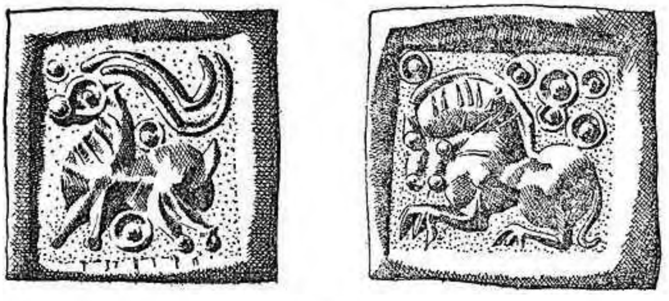


PLATE 18 – Bowl with two bulls flanking a tree, said to have been found in a cave near Kermanshah. 12th-11th century B.C. *British Museum. Height 4.37 cm, diameter 17.5 cm. Cf. pp. 84, 88.*

distinctive type said to have been found in Luristan, shows on one side a gazelle, on the other a crouching lion whose claws might be called simplified versions of those of the feline monster in Figure 49. The lion of the plaque, however, has more rounded forms than the figures in the cylinder. This is in part due to the drill which was employed to make the major hollows for the animal bodies in the plaque and also for the details in the head, as well as for rings, each with a dot in the centre, which fill the field. The use of the drill, which can also be noted in Assyria and Babylonia on cylinder and stamp seals from the ninth to the sixth century B.C., suggests that taste turned to rounded, fuller forms than those common in Luristan at the slightly earlier time to which I assigned the cylinder (Figure 49). Moreover, the lion of the plaque with its strongly arched and powerful neck seems to prefigure representations of lions made in the Achaemenid period.[8] FIGS. 50, 51 FIG. 49



FIGS. 50 and 51 – *Impressions of two sides of a black steatite plaque, said to have been found in Luristan. Left: gazelle. Right: crouching lion. M. Foroughi Collection, Teheran.*

Mitannian and Assyrian faience cylinders

In addition to the seals here discussed, which seem to be typical of Luristan and have not been found elsewhere, other seal types also occur in this area. Some are faience cylinders engraved with human figures, often shown with a tree in a very simplified globular style referred to as Mitannian or Hurrian. The style can be dated in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. because so many seal impressions of this style were found on tablets at Nuzi in northern Mesopotamia and at Ashur. Cylinders of this type obviously could be manufactured in large numbers and therefore probably sold cheaply. Moreover, they may have been sought after because of the prestige enjoyed by the Mitannian empire at that time.[9] The same situation prevailed with respect to the Assyrian faience cylinders of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Again the prestige of a great power, this time Assyria, could have been coupled with the relative cheapness of such cylinders to cause their wide distribution.

These two groups of cylinders may mark the periods of most active exchange between Luristan and northern Mesopotamia. The fact that the majority of the bronzes of Luristan do not show Assyrian influence may indicate that they were made when there was less communication between the two regions.

CAST BRONZES

PLATE 19 LEFT

FIG. 52

At first the many types and styles among the Luristan bronzes confuse the viewer. Only gradually can one succeed in assembling distinctive classes of objects and in postulating stylistic connections and sequences. A large number of the bronzes are cast. They comprise weapons such as axes, daggers and the so-called halberds, which were named for their superficial resemblance to medieval halberds; there were also picks and mace-heads. The bronze jewellery

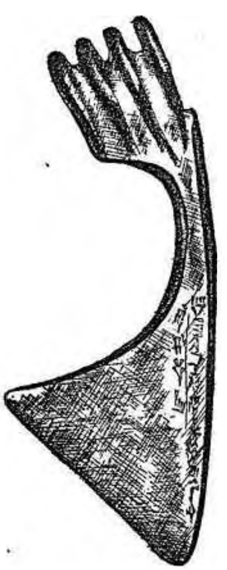


FIG. 52 – *Axe from Luristan with an inscription of King Shilhak-Inshushinak (about 1165-1151 B.C.). M. Foroughi Collection, Teheran.*

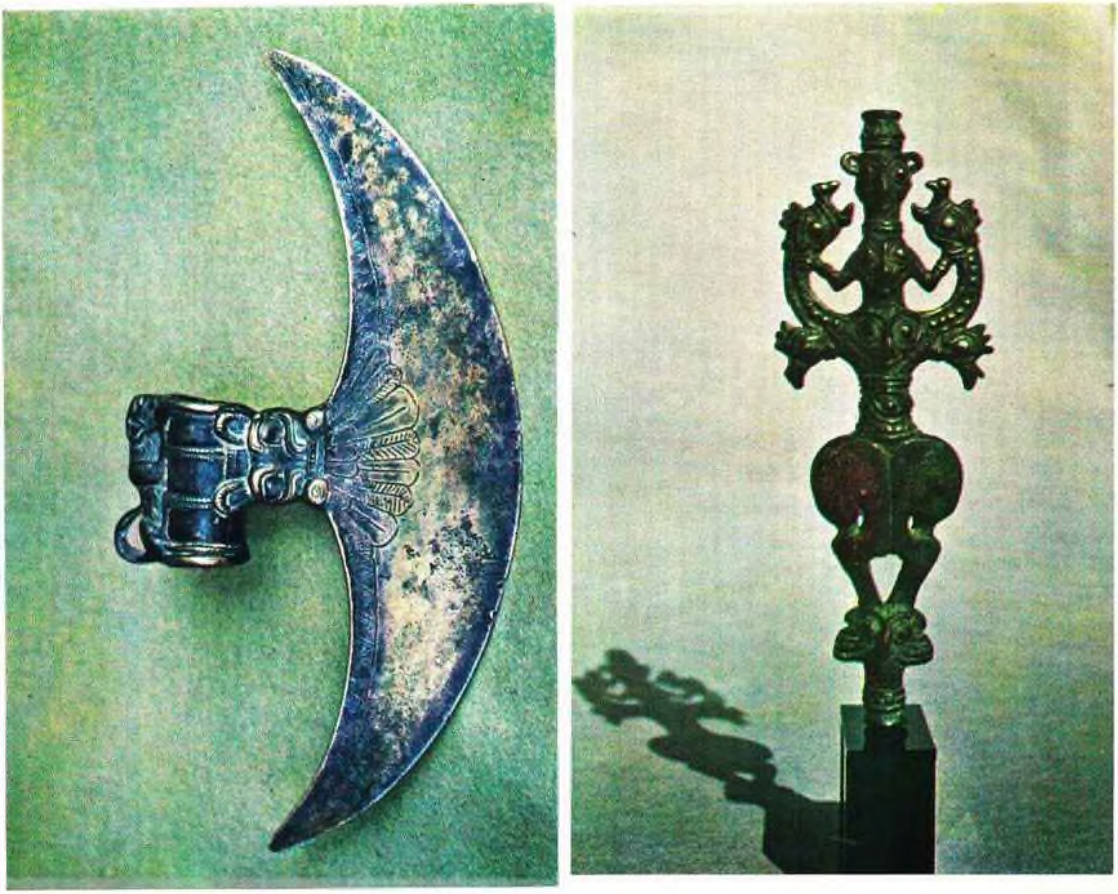
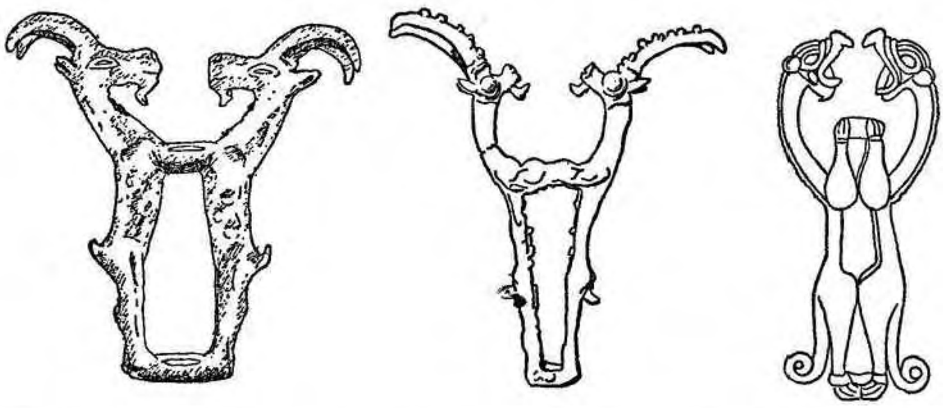


PLATE 19 – Left: bronze axe or halberd from Luristan, decorated with a demonic feline head and crouching feline animal. 10th-9th century B.C. *Height 11 cm, width 21.8 cm. A. Godard Collection.* Right: bronze standard with demonic figure from Luristan. 9th-8th century B.C. *Height 17.5 cm, width 6 cm. M. T. Ullens de Schooten Collection, Brussels. Cf. pp. 80, 86 and below.*

includes rings for all the joints of the human body from finger-rings to anklets. There were also pins with all sorts of heads, shaped like animals, birds or plants, FIGS. 57, 58 and there were pendants of various types. Another large group of Luristan bronzes consists of parts of horses' gear, of which only the bits and cheek-pieces PLATES 20, 21 ABOVE can easily be identified, whereas the use of other objects remains unknown. The best-known Lustistan bronzes are the so-called standards, consisting of a pair of ibexes or a pair of feline animals, panthers or lions, or of a demonic figure with FIGS. 53–55 PLATE 19 RIGHT felines and other animals, all probably placed originally on a bottle-shaped support and held in place by a thin tube or a pin.

Another group of Luristan bronzes consists of objects worked in repoussé and chased. Disk-headed pins, plaques for belts and quivers, and vessels of various shapes belong to this group.



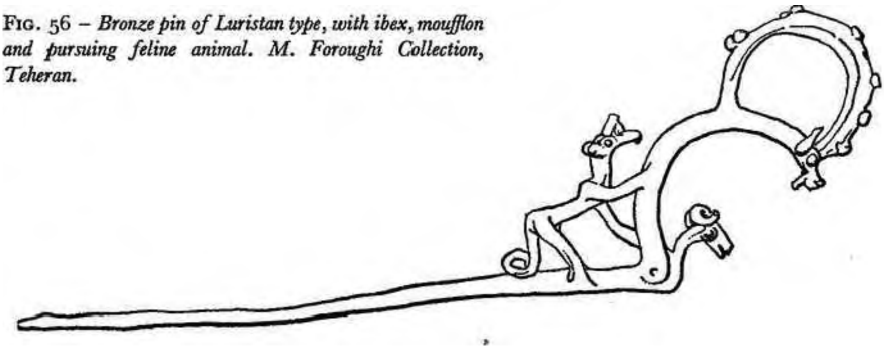
FIGS. 53, 54 and 55 – *Left: bronze standard with young ibexes, probably from Luristan. 10th-9th century B.C. University Museum, Philadelphia. Middle: bronze standard of Luristan type with ibexes, probably 10th-9th century B.C. University Museum, Philadelphia. Right: bronze standard of Luristan type with feline animals. Probably 10th-9th century B.C. M.T. Ullens de Schooten Collection, Brussels.*

A few of the bronzes from Luristan can be fitted into the phases worked out above for the seals: an early phase under strong Kassite and Mitannian influence, a second phase in which an expressive style was formed on the basis of Elamite prototypes (tentatively that phase may be dated in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.), and a third phase (which may have lasted until the end of the seventh century B.C.) in which earlier forms were varied and enriched.

Inscribed daggers and axes

All the objects cannot be found in all phases. The only objects which one can certainly assign to the earliest phase are daggers and axes which have inscriptions naming Babylonian kings of the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.[10] The reason why these inscribed daggers were found in Luristan is a subject of debate among scholars. While it is undeniable that certain ones were dedicated to deities, and were presumably deposited in sanctuaries, others could have been used to compensate deserving leaders of auxiliaries. Another interpretation sees in the weapons loot from Babylonian and Elamite temples.[11] At any rate, both daggers and axes served as examples for later, somewhat more exaggerated forms produced in Luristan.

FIG. 56 – *Bronze pin of Luristan type, with ibex, moufflon and pursuing feline animal. M. Foroughi Collection, Teheran.*



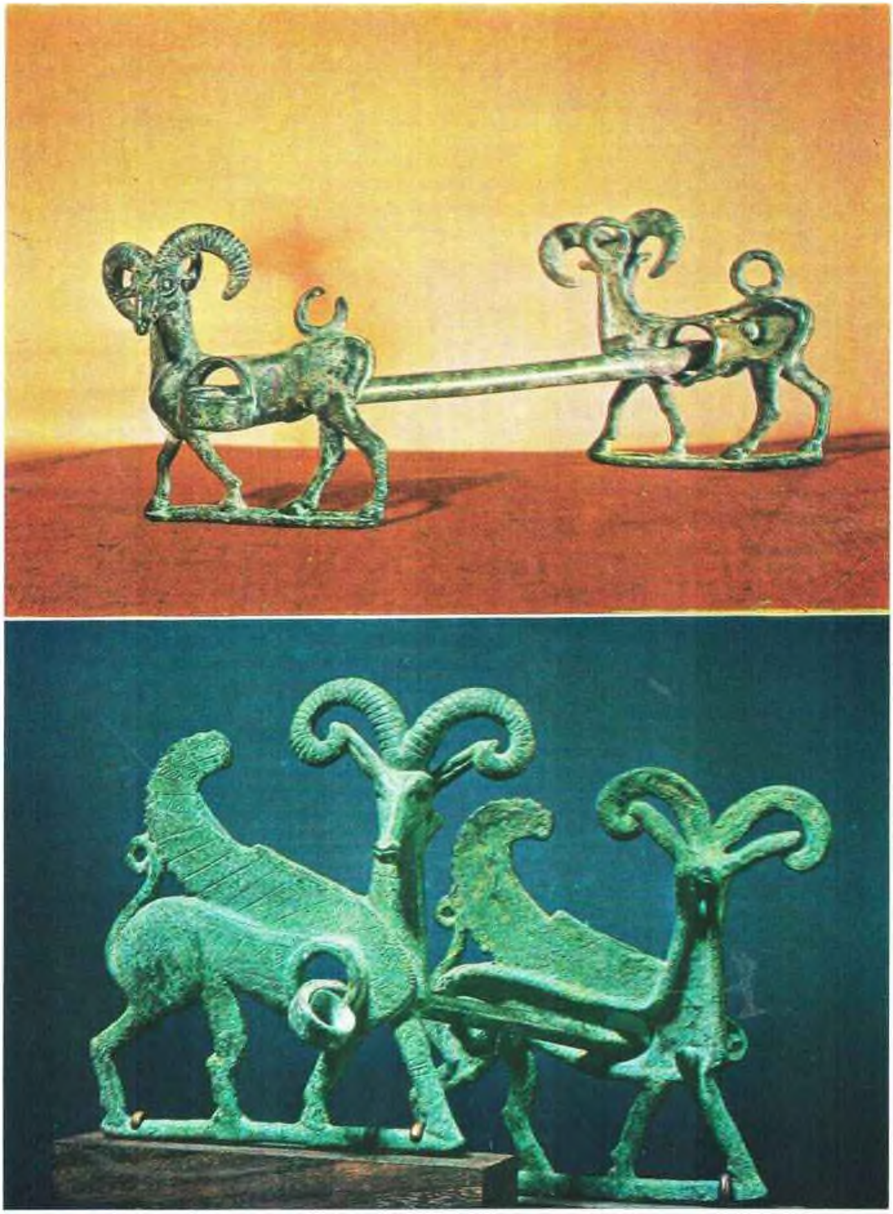


PLATE 20 – Bronze horse bits and cheek-pieces from Luristan. 8th-7th century B.C. Above: *length of a moufflon from breast to tail 18.5 cm. University Museum, Philadelphia.* Below: *length of moufflon 12.5 cm. Private collection. Cf. pp. 81, 87.*

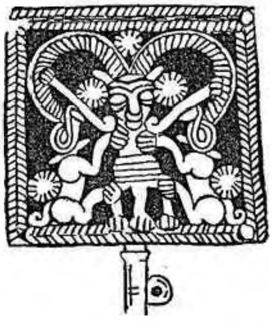


FIG. 57 – *Bronze 'wand' of Luristan type, showing a demon with moufflon horns and feline animals.*

PLATE 18 The bowl in Plate 18 is said to have been found with two such daggers in a cave near Kermanshah. Its decoration of a tree flanked by two walking bulls is closely linked with that of the seal-ring discussed above. FIG. 47 Both differ from Babylonian renderings of the theme, which have neither the typical curve of the neck nor the strongly arched breast. Moreover, the raised foreleg of each of the bulls deprives their stance of the solidity which a Babylonian artist would have sought for his figures. In Iran, on the other hand, the natural relation to the groundline is often disregarded. A good example is the goat and man on the admittedly PLATE 7 far earlier vase from Susa D.

The majority of the bronzes appears to belong to the second and third phases, which are as yet difficult to differentiate. Only a few types of bronzes will be discussed here, and only very tentative suggestions can be made for their classification.

Among the cast bronzes the standards show the greatest variety in style and form. Possibly the simply and naturalistically modelled standards with two FIG. 53 small ibexes are the earliest. Standards in which the bodies of the ibexes are FIG. 54 more elongated and subjected to an abstract principle of decoration are here taken to be of later date. In these standards the curvature of the horns is answered by a curvature of the neck which continues in lesser curves throughout the body. Such a tendency toward more abstract and attenuated forms was observed in cylinder seals from Luristan dated approximately in the tenth or ninth century B.C. FIG. 55 In the standards with feline creatures no such development from a more naturalistic to an abstract type can be observed; instead, the felines immediately appear with long, decoratively curved necks. These long-necked feline creatures remind one of the demon of an Elamite cylinder FIG. 28 seal from Tchoga Zanbil, which is probably later than the bulk of the seals from that site and may be contemporary with the bronzes.

The bronzes were probably first formed in wax and later cast in bronze by the lost-wax process. The heads of the feline animals seem to have been formed of coils of wax, which were made to surround the eyes and the jaws. It seems likely that the most carefully formed were the earliest, whereas those made with 'labour-saving devices' became less clearly differentiated in form and probably belong to a later period.

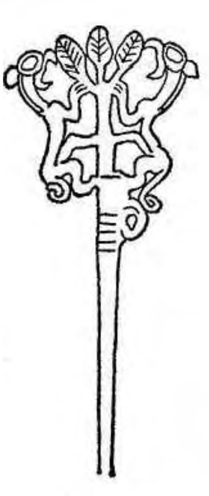


FIG. 58 – *Bronze pin-head of Luristan type, showing feline animals flanking a tree. Probably 10th-9th century B.C. M. Foroughi Collection, Teheran.*

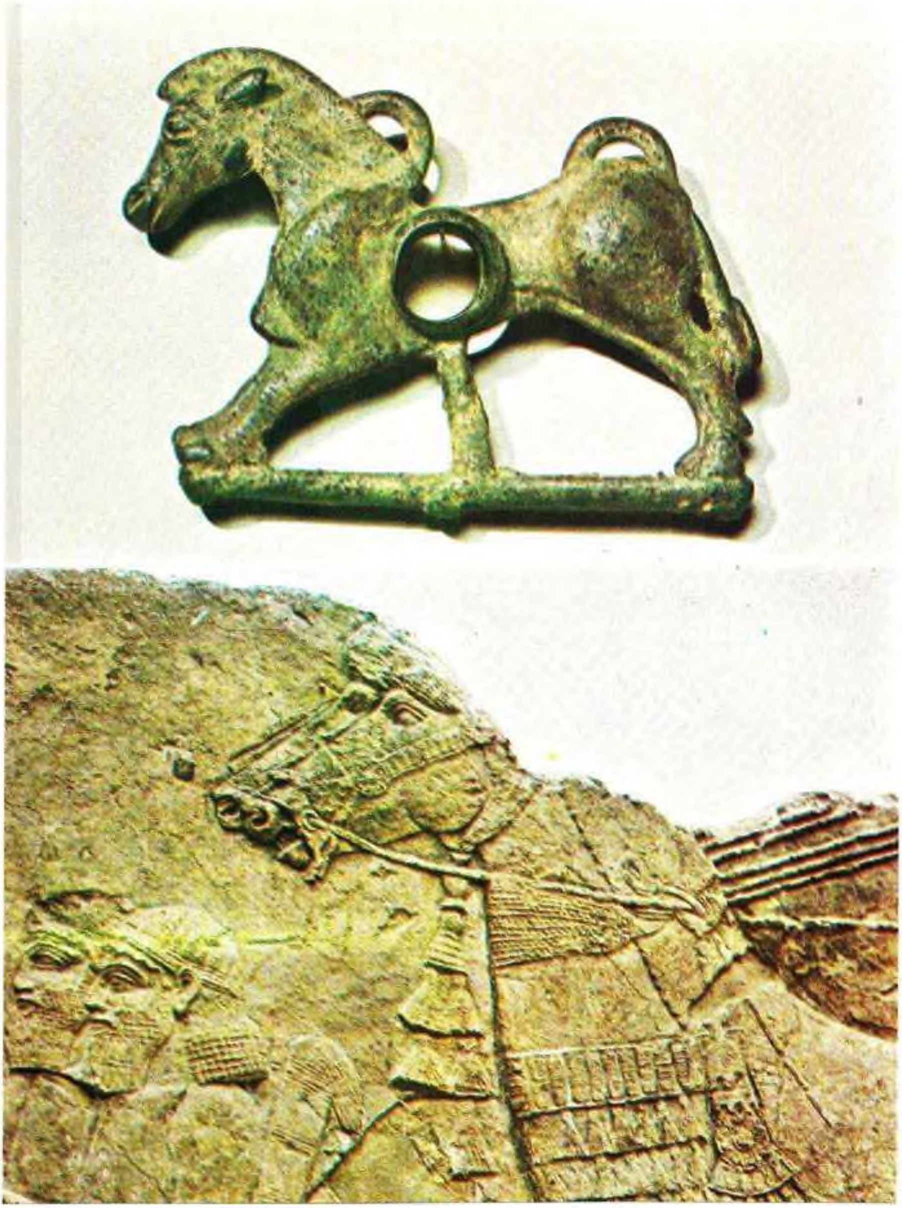


Plate 21 – Above: horse's cheek-piece in the shape of a horse, probably from Luristan. 8th-7th century B.C. *Height 8 cm, length 10 cm. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.* Below: detail from a relief of Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) which shows how these cheek-pieces were worn. *British Museum. Cf. pp. 81, 87, 156.*

PLATE 19 RIGHT Composite standards in which a demonic figure with human head and torso is combined with animal forms may be later than the simpler feline and ibex standards, though the strong geometric tendency in the composition of these standards corresponds to the style here thought to characterize the art of the beginning of the first millennium. There have been rumours that such standards were found together with pottery of the second millennium B.C.[12] Before positive evidence is produced by controlled excavations, however, we can do no more here than draw the reader's attention to the extraordinarily powerful impact produced by these standards. In the standard shown here a demonic figure grasps by the throat monsters which have yawning jaws or beaks and cocks' combs and may represent griffins. A pair of similar heads with closed beaks clearly recognizable as griffin heads appears on a lower level of the standard. The lower part of the demonic figure is formed by the hips and legs of an animal, and human feet, with the toes as if seen from above, form the whiskers of a demonic face. Two other faces with staring eyes appear above. The eyes and the combination of monstrous and human forms were surely thought to be a powerful means of averting the approach of evil demons. The specific significance of this and other composite demons in Luristan bronzes, however, may never be known.

FIGS. 53, 54 Some suggestion for the way in which standards could have been set up can be made merely for the ibex standards. A tube is frequently pushed through the ring against which the ibexes lean with their forefeet; in some cases it has become permanently attached to the standard by corrosion.[13] The tube could have held a flower or slender branch, or perhaps a pin with a head in the form of a fruit such as a pomegranate.[14] With such a vegetal element between them, the ibexes would have been a three-dimensional version of the venerable motif of goats with a tree. The same motif is shown in a rein-ring here taken to be Elamite. If this assumption can be maintained,[15] it seems possible that the ibex standards go back to Elamite prototypes. PLATE 13

The representation of ibexes with a tree, which is also found on a cylinder seal excavated in Luristan,[16] recalls the fact that horned animals and a tree are associated with a mother goddess in the Haramosh valley. Perhaps similar concepts were current in Luristan, although ibex and moufflon are indigenous animals and would naturally appear in any iconography of the region.

FIG. 58 Whether the two feline animals with a tree seen in the pin-head reproduced here indicate that the feline standards should be reconstructed in the same way as the ibex standards, and whether they belong to the same cycle of ideas remains unknown.

Other bronzes have motifs derived from nature and the life of animals, perhaps without any deeper meaning. Such is the pin of the type here reproduced as Figure 56. A feline animal, lion or panther, or a dog pursues an ibex and a moufflon rendered by a play of curves which is not only visually pleasing but also expresses the desperate and doomed flight of the horned animals as they escape their pursuer. FIG. 56

FIG. 22 Comparison with the placid rendering of a related motif, a lion pursuing a goat, in the ancillary scene of an Elamite cylinder shows up the singularly expressive powers and aesthetic qualities of some of the Luristan bronzes. If we are right in dating late those feline heads which are rendered in a very simplified manner, the pin should be dated about 800 B.C.

FIG. 57 Curious square or round finials, here called wands (a term coined by Erich

Schmidt),[17] constitute a group which I should like to place relatively early in the Luristan sequence because of the carefully coiled feline heads and the painstaking hatching of the framing device. It is interesting to note how ably the artist linked the figure of the moufflon demon in the centre with those of the feline creatures at his sides, occasionally using rosettes to fill the interval between figure and frame.

The figure of the demon with moufflon horns shows how long this demon survived in the regions of south-western Iran. We found the demon first on a prehistoric stamp seal, then again on the stele of Untashgal from Susa; now it appears on Luristan bronzes. This shows how much of the ancient Iranian heritage was preserved in the bronzes of Luristan. PLATE 5 ABOVE FIG. 39

One of the most attractive groups of bronzes from Luristan comprises the cheek-pieces, usually a pair of animals or monsters joined by a rigid bronze bar. Ghirshman made the interesting observation that none of these bars, of which he examined several dozen, showed the slightest sign of usage. The peasants who dig up these cheek-pieces call them 'under the head'. Ghirshman suggested that, by placing such a bit under the head of the deceased, one created the illusion that he would make his last journey on horseback or in a chariot (even though he might not have been one of the privileged group of charioteers or horsemen during his life).[18]

It will surely be possible one day to differentiate between earlier and later cheek-pieces, but at present such divisions cannot be supported by results from stratified finds. In some of the cheek-pieces, such as those reproduced in Plate 20, an ancient artistic device of Iranian art is employed in turning the animals' heads at right angles to the axis of the body and modelling them three-dimensionally (see the comments below on this device in connection with some of the gold vessels from Marlik, p. 91). Yet there is no reason to assume that these cheek-pieces are earlier than those in which the head is shown on the same axis as the rest of the body, as in the piece reproduced in Plate 21 above. PLATE 20 PLATE 21

The stylistic differences between the two pairs of cheek-pieces reproduced in Plate 20 are striking. In the lower pair the bodies are quite flat and merely show a linear patterning of the surface, and the heads are worked in the round without much differentiation of the planes. In the upper pair a greater amount of modelling has resulted in more rounded forms. Probably such differences indicate that these cheek-pieces were made in different workshops situated in different localities rather than that there was a difference in time between objects of such similar type. PLATE 20

FIG. 59 – *Lowest register of a quiver plaque from Surkh Dum in Luristan. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

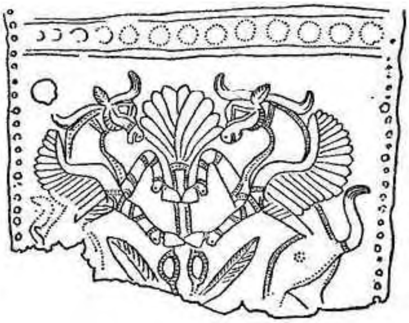


PLATE 21 ABOVE
PLATE 21 BELOW

The rounded modelling of the upper pair seems to be related to the cheek-pieces in the form of a horse, which may be dated in turn by comparison with an Assyrian relief traditionally assigned to Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.).[19] This relief gives us at least a general indication as to the date of the cheek-pieces from Luristan, though it may mark the end of the series.

The few examples of Luristan bronzes of cast type shown here may suffice to give an idea of the fascination of these objects and of the tantalizing problems involved in probing into their date and meaning.

REPOUSSÉ WORK IN BRONZE

FIG. 59 FIG. 47 PLATE 18 FIG. 44

The work in repoussé from Luristan is perhaps even more arresting and even more difficult to place in time. We reproduce here a drawing of the lowest panel of a quiver plaque found at Surkh Dum. The motif of two bulls flanking a tree needs little comment since we have encountered it so often. In contrast to the relatively naturalistic rendering of the motif in a seal-ring, Figure 47, and a bowl, Plate 18, however, the bulls are rendered here in a more patternized manner. Their bodies are outlined by jewelled bands,[20] and more such bands seem to be wound around parts of the body, especially around the legs. The bodies therefore seem to be divided up in a rather unnatural manner. The effect obtained is not unlike that of the fragment of an Elamite tile in Figure 44. In the postures of the figures, especially in the arched neck, a relationship may also be felt with the elegant decorative style of Marlik discussed below (p. 94).

FIG. 62 FIG. 44

The design on the panel of the quiver from Surkh Dum, which seems a little awkward in comparison with the beaker from Marlik, Figure 62 below, and even with the tile fragment from Susa, may be somewhat later than both these works, so that a date at the beginning of the first millennium may be suggested for the panel and naturally also for the quiver as a whole. This would put the object from Luristan at a time when we have postulated a general tendency for a geometric abstract style in seals and bronzes.

PLATE 28

Some slight support for such a dating on stylistic grounds is provided by the pattern of multiple parallel lines in changing directions which marks one of the horizontal ridges dividing off the panels in the quiver plaque from Surkh Dum. The same pattern is found on the horizontal ridges which divide the registers in the beaker from Hasanlu, Plate 28, an object dated with some assurance in the ninth century B.C.

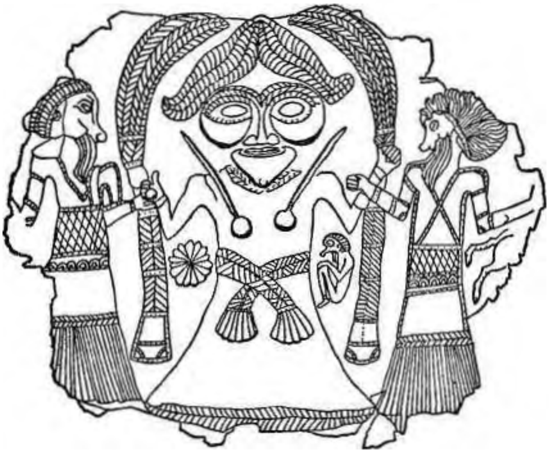


FIG. 60 – *Bronze repoussé, perhaps from a disk-shaped pin-head of Luristan type. Goddess with servants. Von der Heydt Collection, Rietberg Museum, Zurich.*

A fragmentary piece of repoussé work from Luristan, which may have come from a pin, shows in the rendering of a frontally positioned female figure, with what are probably her servants, a style which is related to that of the quiver from Surkh Dum, though it is here perhaps a little more exaggerated. The female figure probably represents a goddess between two trees with branches like those of a palm-tree and stems which have jewelled bands at more or less regular intervals. The servants of the deity, perhaps priests, seem to hold horned animals, of which only one is preserved. One may think again of the complex of goddess, horned animals and tree repeatedly recalled throughout this chapter. Beside the goddess there is a small goblin, probably the same creature also found on Elamite cylinders, on a cylinder from Luristan, and on another Luristan bronze.[21] On the other side of the goddess there is a rosette which fills the space but which may also have a specific meaning. The goddess herself wears gigantic disk-headed pins, the points of which project over her shoulders. This way of wearing pins is known from renderings on Greek vases, though there the pins are of normal size.[22] FIG. 60 FIGS. 23, 49

The large goddess with her mask-like face, the priests or servants with their bushy hair, straggly beards, and curiously long noses with bulbous tip, wearing long, fringed garments with jewelled bands, seem to derive from a world so different from ours that its thoughts and aims may remain for ever unknown to us. While there will probably always be some discussion concerning the identity of the people whose lively imagination, fine craftsmanship and interesting artistic sense were responsible for the production of the Luristan bronzes, we may not be far wrong in suggesting that craftsmanship in the Near East was usually handed down from generation to generation and that the craftsmen who worked for the political masters of Luristan (no matter who they were at a given period) — and who may have even tried to please their rulers' taste — were nevertheless people who continued an old and local tradition with motifs and techniques preserved over many centuries in what may have been to some extent one of the refuge areas of Iran.[23]

VII. THE FINDS FROM MARLIK, THE GOLD BOWLS OF NORTH-WESTERN IRAN, AND THE 'AMLASH CULTURE'

THE REGION

TOMBS OF MARLIK

The road from Qazwin to Resht on the shore of the Caspian Sea runs through parched and dusty land until it descends into the valley of the Sefid Rud river, where green bushes crop up among the bare grey rocks, and eventually reaches the green valley of the Gohar Rud, in which lies the site of Marlik. An hour's walk through rice-fields and olive groves leads from the bottom of the valley to the top of the hill on which Ezat O. Negahban and his staff opened about fifty-three tombs.[1] Some of these tombs are quite large and almost rectangular. The first one which was opened measured 6 × 5 metres. It was built of large, roughly hewn stones, and bed-rock formed one wall. At the western end of that tomb there was a platform before which lay numerous offerings. At the time of the preliminary report the excavator considered it possible that this platform was an altar which marked the room as a sanctuary, and by analogy with the other tombs which unquestionably served as such, this interpretation is now also accepted for the first tomb discovered, where the platform is now thought to have supported the body of the deceased, of which, however, no trace remains. Only two skeletons are mentioned as having been found by the excavator. The others seem to have disappeared; as has been pointed out by R. H. Dyson Jr.,[2] this is a common result of 'leaching' in areas with alternating wet and dry conditions brought on by rain-storms or snow.

Contents of the tombs

Among the offerings in the first chamber were a silver 'teapot' with gold inlays and embossed gold roundels which were probably sewn on garments. The weapons comprised swords which were intentionally bent and broken before they were laid in the tomb. Of special interest are the winged arrow-heads, which must have caused more vicious wounds than the arrow-heads used earlier in the ancient Near East. The new type can be paralleled by similar objects found in the regions of the Russian and Persian Talyche.[3]

The tombs opened at Marlik also contained vessels in the shape of humped bulls of a type named Amlash bulls after the town where such objects were probably first purchased.

Tomb types

Some tombs were much smaller than the first, measuring about 1–1.50 × 2 metres. They were built of slabs of yellow stone, carefully laid. The outline of these tombs differed; one was partly rounded, while the other was square and resembled a shaft which this writer judges to have been about 1.50 to 2 metres deep. Both contained rich treasures of gold and silver vessels, weapons, and small bronze figurines of animals and pottery. Especially well-built tombs of a third type noted by the excavator, approximately 3 × 3 metres, of rough stone and clay mortar, had neither rich nor varied remains. A fourth type of tomb, smaller than the others, contained only a horse's bit and a set of horse's teeth.

There immediately arises the question whether or not this variety in the tombs indicates that the cemetery was in use over so long a period that the shape of the tombs changed during that time. We shall have to await the excavator's publication of his tomb groups to learn whether the differences among them strengthen the impression that the cemetery of Marlik served for the burial of many generations of the nobles of this region.

BOWLS AND BEAKERS

Some difference in time certainly seems to be suggested by the striking differen-

Gold beaker with bulls

PLATE 22a

ces in the styles of the bowls and beakers from Marlik published so far. Perhaps the most beautiful is a beaker worked in repoussé with two bulls flanking a palmette-tree. The bulls stand on their hind legs, place their forelegs on the leaves of the tree, and turn their fully modelled heads toward the viewer at right angles to the relief of the rest of the body. Despite the strain imposed on the imagination by the fantastic posture of the animals and by the unnatural patterning of their bodies, the animals appear forceful, alive and convincing; this extends even to the great wings that characterize the bulls as supernatural creatures.

Any ruler would have considered this beaker a prize piece in his treasury. Were these precious objects made at the court of the persons buried at Marlik, or brought from elsewhere? When were they made? Once the date of an object is established, it is more easily fitted into a historical context, however vague. Since no inscriptions accompanied the Marlik finds and there is no evidence as yet from radio-carbon analysis, we can only hope to obtain some idea of the date of these finds by comparing them to related dated material from elsewhere.

Date of the beaker

The naturalism of the Marlik bulls suggests that they derive in time from one of two periods of Assyrian art: the naturalism of the smooth, rich court art of the late Neo-Assyrian period, from Tiglathpileser III (745–727 B.C.) to Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.), or the lively narrative naturalism of the Middle Assyrian period at the end of the Late Bronze Age, in the fourteenth to twelfth century B.C. Several parallels with objects of Middle Assyrian art point toward the earlier rather than the later dates.[4] Moreover, the motif of bulls with a tree is not frequent in the late period, whereas it occurs fairly often at the end of the second millennium B.C. — for example, in the decoration of the robe and crown of a Babylonian king on a boundary-stone dated about 1100 B.C.[5] The manner in which the heads of the bulls are worked in the round, and thereby participate more actively in the surrounding space, may be traced to Elamite tradition, as suggested by the bitumen vessels of the Early Elamite period. The fact that this earlier tradition was continued by artists of later periods at Susa is shown by a bronze socket from Susa probably of Middle Elamite date. Horses and bulls are depicted walking around this vessel, their bodies rendered in relief and their heads turned outward and fully modelled.[6]

Relationship to Elamite art

Simplified forms in the gold bowl of Kalardasht

FIG. 61

In a gold bowl found at Kalardasht in the province of Mazanderan, the heads of what are here taken to be lionesses were made separately and riveted rather crudely on to the relief of the bodies. Instead of the subtle modelling of the bull beaker from Marlik, the animals of the Kalardasht bowl have most of the detail reduced to linear patterns. On cheek and haunch the animals have a four-fold whirl design, resembling a swastika. These swastikas are probably derived from the torsional shoulder star frequently found on renderings of Near Eastern lions.[7] They may be ornaments, or else — and this seems more likely here, though it cannot be proved — they are symbols which mark the lionesses as super-terrestrial creatures or as the property of a specific deity.

Kalardasht, where the bowl was found, is said to be the most beautiful region of Mazanderan.[8] In 1934 a castle was built there for Reza Shah. Under the floor of the pool which was being constructed in the park, the architect and his workmen are said to have found a subterranean installation with many corridors in which there were skeletons accompanied by funerary offerings, mostly of gold and bronze but also of pottery. In fact 125 objects of red pottery, among them numerous vases in animal shape, were collected at the site. Together with

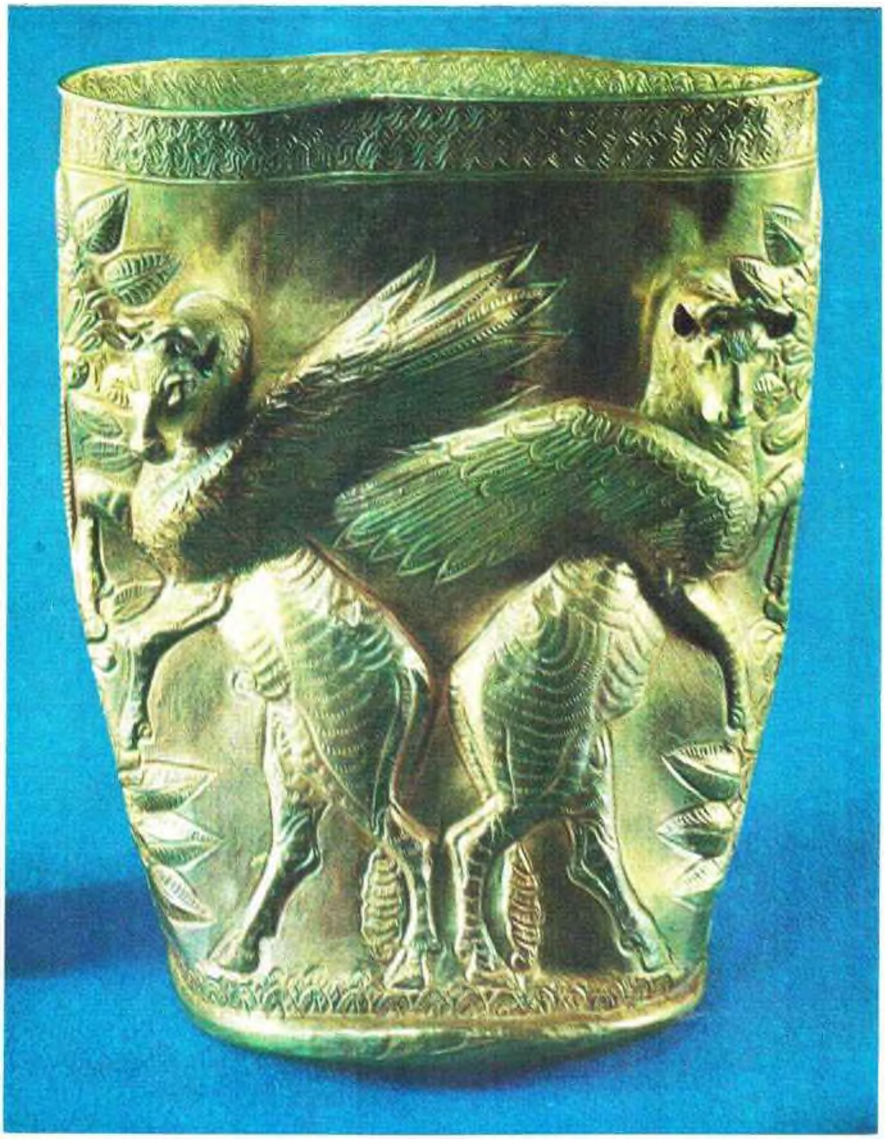


PLATE 22a – Gold beaker from Marlik, decorated with bulls flanking tree. 12th or 11th century B.C. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height 19 cm. Cf. pp. 91, 96, 102.*

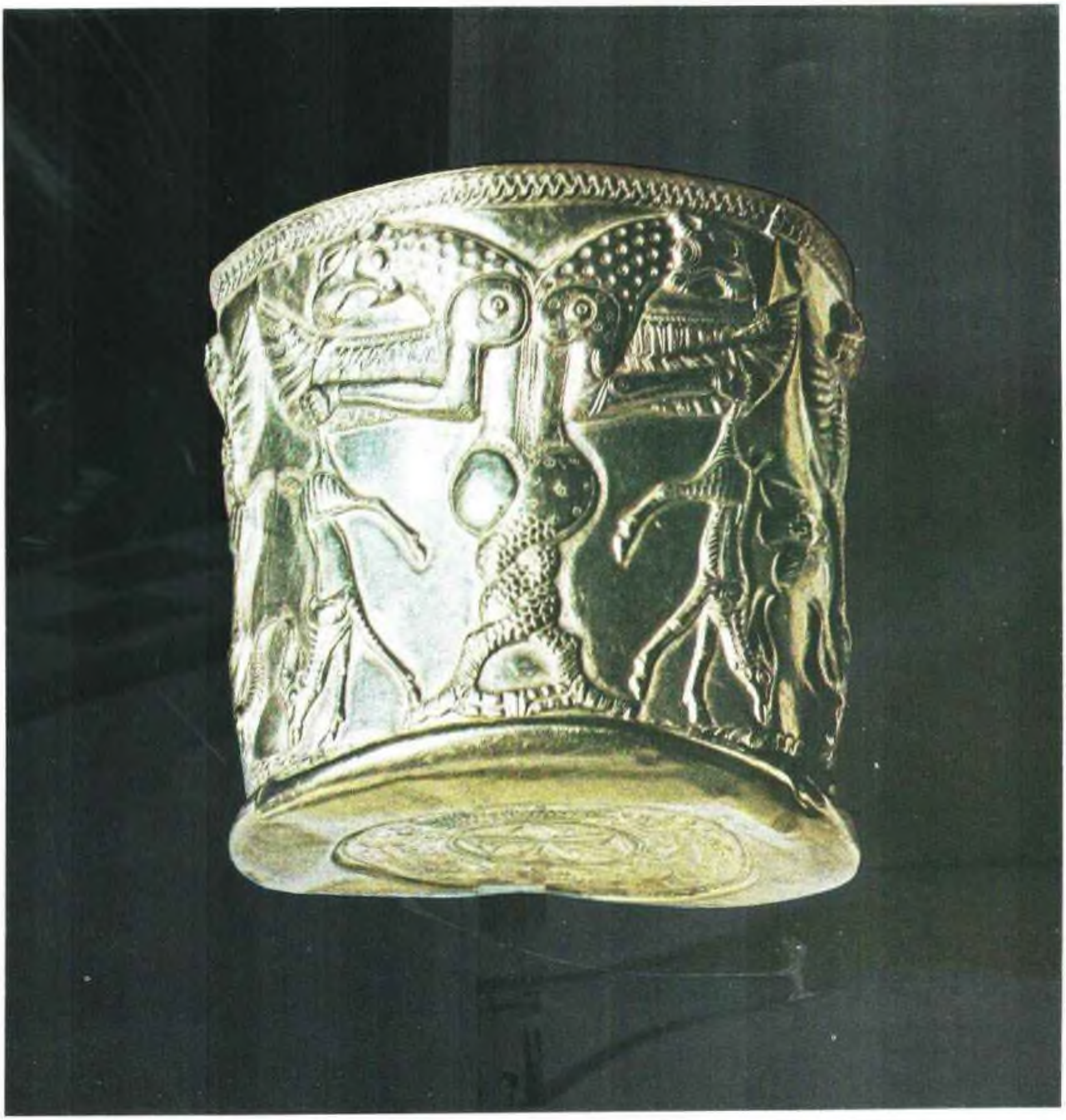


Plate 22b – Gold bowl with lion demons and gazelles from north-western Iran. 12th or 11th century B.C. *Louvre, Paris. Height 11 cm. Cf. pp. 94, 102.*

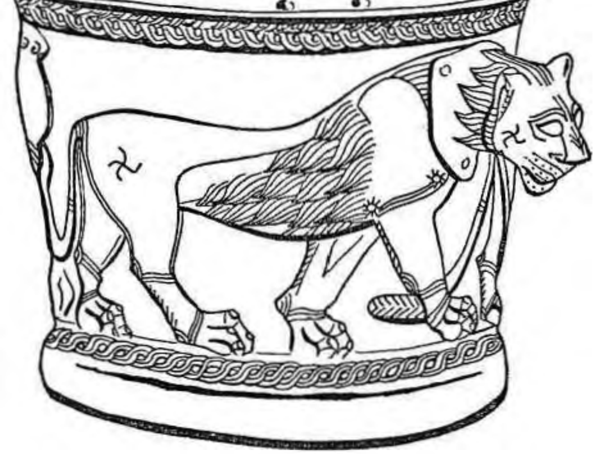


FIG. 61 – *Gold bowl from Kalardasht. Probably 12th-11th century B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran,*

the gold bowl was found a gold dagger resembling in the shape of the grip one recently discovered at Marlik, while the ring which joins grip and blade resembles the ring on a dagger rendered on the gold bowl of Hasanlu to be discussed below.[9] These relations point to a close connection between Kalardasht, Marlik and the gold bowl of Hasanlu. If the gold bowl of Kalardasht and the bull beaker from Marlik were to determine the relative chronology of the two sites, Marlik would have to be considered the earlier, because the bowl from Kalardasht represents an awkward and simplified copy of the accomplished style and technique manifested in the bull beaker from Marlik. Such a development would be characteristic of ancient Near Eastern art, in which the great styles appear full blown with little evidence of preparation, endure for a relatively short period of artistic excellence, and pass into a decline which may last several centuries. Translated into human terms, this seems to mean that a great style could be created by an outstanding artist, presumably working for a royal patron, and that subsequently his style and technique were taken over by generations of uninspired craftsmen.

Beaker in elegant decorative style
FIG. 62

A second gold beaker from Marlik, with slightly concave sides, illustrates the same development. The beaker has designs engraved and chased in a new, elegant and decorative style, magnificently executed on this and other gold vessels. Several centuries later the last echoes of the style are to be seen in some clumsily yet expressively chased figures of animals and demons on bronze plaques from Luristan.[10] In another medium, carelessly painted vessels from Tepe Sialk echo the same style (see Appendix, Chart II: Vessels of Sialk B).

FIG. 59

Tepe Sialk B

The supernatural character of the bulls on the tall Marlik beaker seems to be suggested by their unnatural slenderness, their decorative poses, especially the curved necks, and the wing-like tufts of hair on the leg joints and the back. The same style, probably the same workshop, is represented by a bowl in the Louvre said to have been found in north-western Iran. A double-headed demon with legs in the form of snakes and bird claws holds with his (or her) human hands two gazelles by the hind legs. This motif is repeated three times around the cir-

PLATE 22b

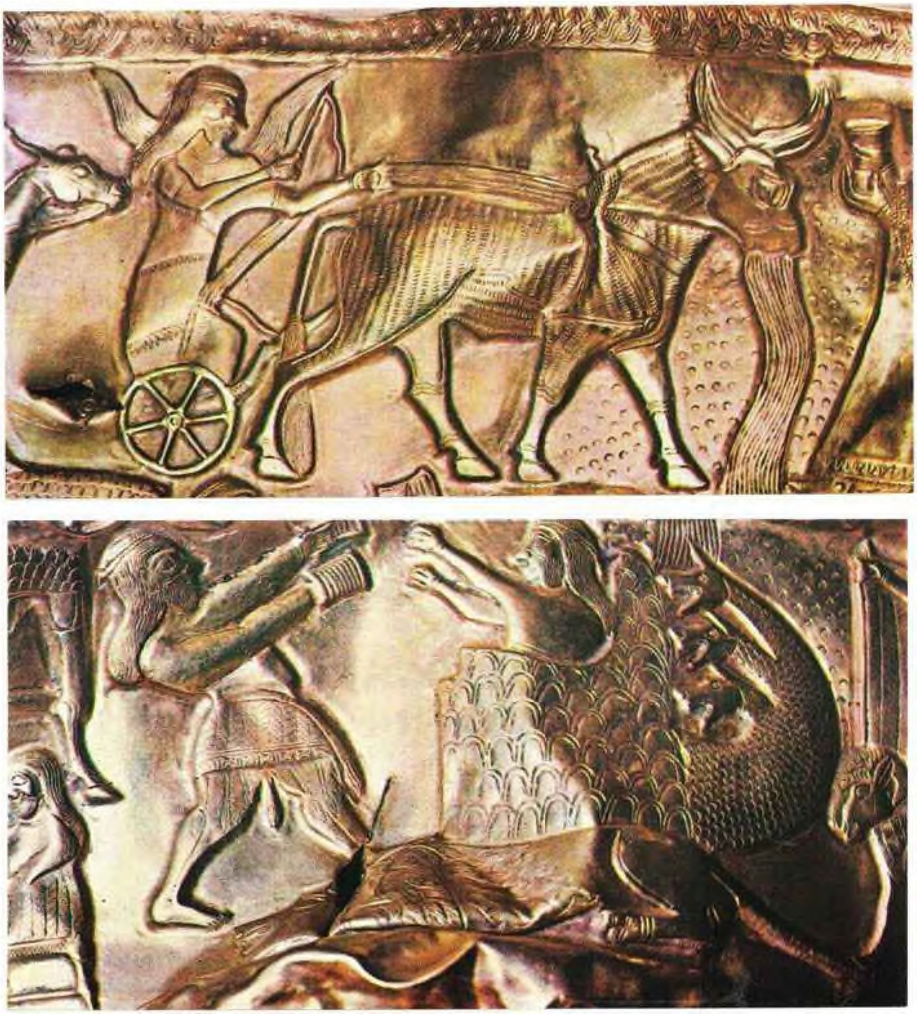


PLATE 23 – Details from the gold bowl of Hasanlu. 12th or 11th century B.C. Above: weather god in his chariot, drawn by a bull. Below: contest with a mountain monster. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height of the entire bowl 20.6 cm, width 28 cm. Cf. pp. 96, 98, 108, 113, 124.*

cumference of the bowl. As in the beaker from Marlik, multiple patterns, delicately executed, vary and ornament the bodies of monsters and animals.

PLATE 22a

This abstract style is so different from the naturalistic one of the first bull beaker that both could hardly have been made by and for the same people. The dating of this style therefore poses new problems. Either it could be contemporary with the geometric style of Mitannian cylinder seals dated in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C., or it could express a new trend toward geometric and abstract renderings which followed upon the naturalism of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. In view of the survival of the style in works of the first millennium B.C., the later date seems more likely to be correct.

FIG. 28

PLATE 6

The motif of a double-headed lion demon reminds us of the possibly Neo-Elamite seal from Tchoga Zanbil, Figure 28, but monsters with legs of entwined snakes also occur on Mitannian cylinder seals, as was pointed out by André Parrot, who published the bowl.[11] He also pointed to the strikingly feminine form of the monster's haunches which may indicate that a female demon is here represented. Whether that demon is connected with the lion demon of the early urban civilization, and whether these monsters are adjuncts or actual representations of a goddess elsewhere represented in human form riding on lions, remains unknown for the present.

Gold bowl of Hasanlu

PLATES 23, 24

Recovery of the bowl

A third style, lively and narrative, represented at Marlik by a tall beaker with renderings of animals, will be discussed here on the basis of the decoration of the gold bowl from Hasanlu, which is executed in the same style but more carefully and with more interesting and varied scenes. The bowl was found in the summer of 1958 at Hasanlu in the province of Azerbaijan. It was discovered by Robert H. Dyson Jr., whose minute observation of detail at the time of the excavation made it possible to reconstruct the dramatic circumstances under which the bowl had been buried almost three thousand years ago. In the course of the excavations at the site of Hasanlu, discussed in the next chapter, a man's hand and arm appeared as the workmen were clearing away the charred remains of an upper storey which had collapsed into what seems to have been a refuse room. The bones of the man's fingers were stained green from the ver-

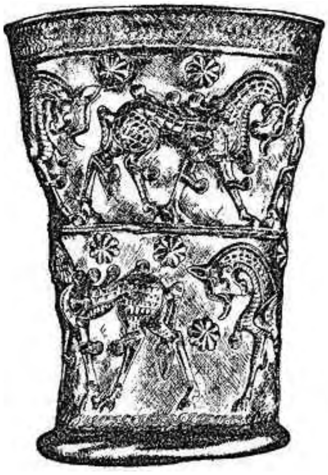


FIG. 62 – *Beaker from Marlik with slightly concave sides, showing in repoussé two registers of bulls walking in opposite directions. Archaeological Museum, Teheran.*

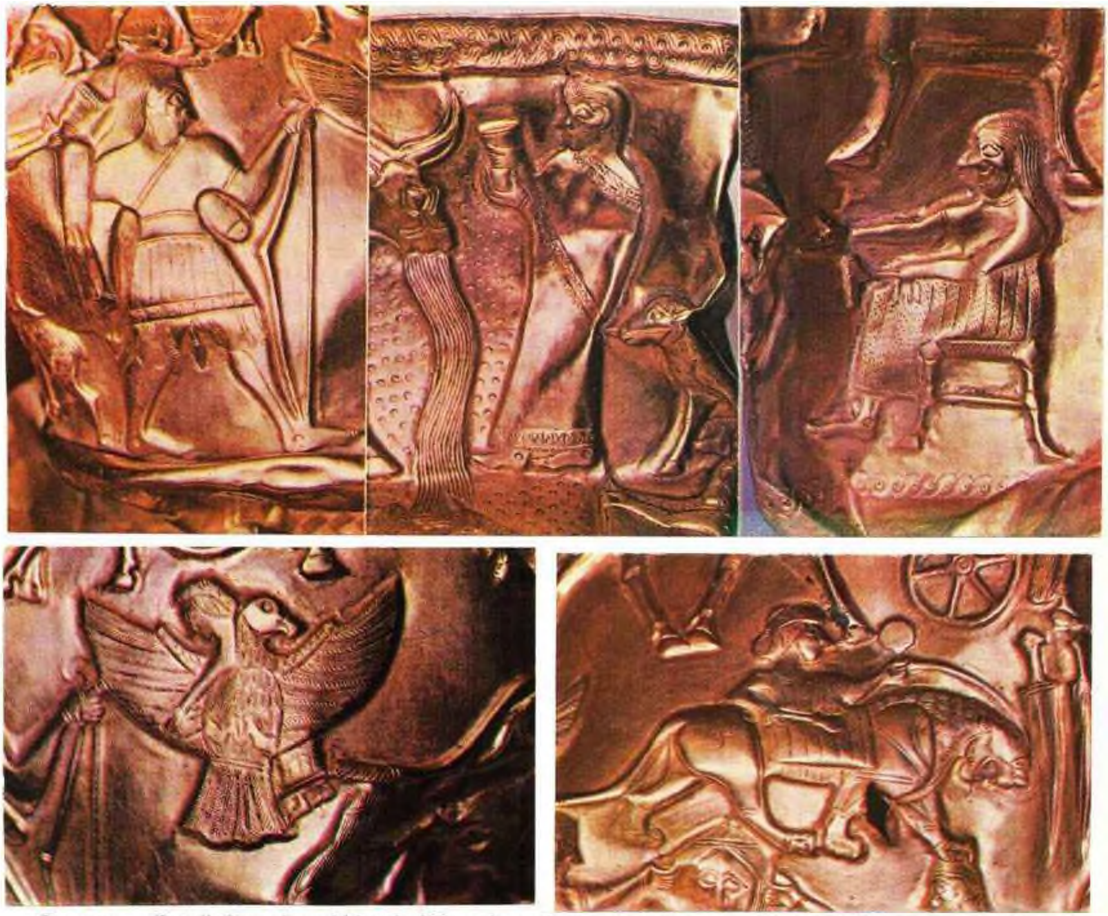
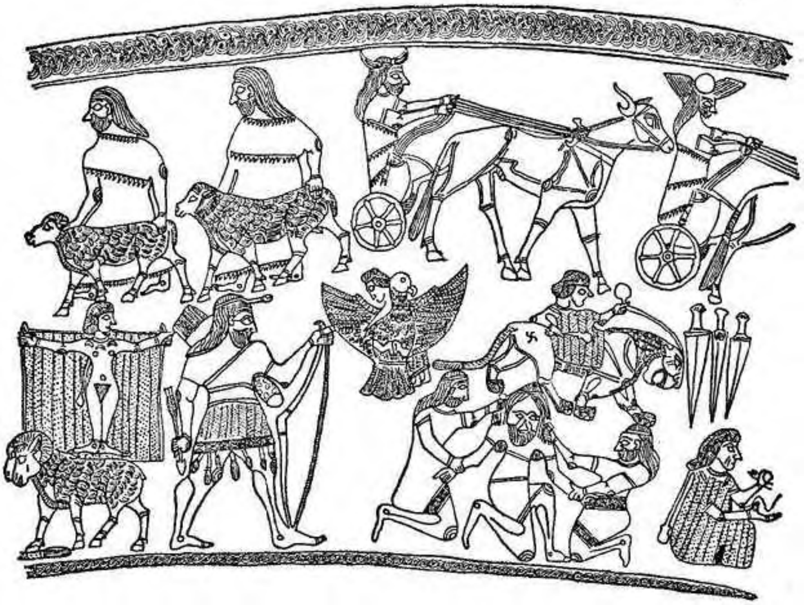


PLATE 24 – Details from the gold bowl of Hasanlu. 12th or 11th century B.C. Above: archer; priest; enthroned god. Below: goddess borne by a falcon; goddess riding on a lion. *Cf. pp. 96, 98, 101, 106, 113, 124.*

digris of the bronze buttons of his gauntlet. When Dyson took over the excavation of the find and began to brush off the bones, a sliver of gold was suddenly revealed. At first the excavator thought he had a bracelet, but the gold went deeper and deeper until a solid gold bowl, eight inches in height and eight in diameter, was revealed. Careful observation of the two skeletons found with that of the man who had carried the bowl resulted in the following reconstruction: the bowl 'was being carried out of the flaming building by one of three men who were on the second floor at the moment it gave way. The leader of the group fell sprawled forward on his face, his arms spread out before him to break the fall, his iron sword with its handle of gold foil caught beneath his chest. The second man, carrying the gold bowl, fell forward on his right shoulder, his left arm with its gauntlet of bronze buttons flung against the wall, his right arm and the bowl dropped in front of him, his skull crushed in its cap of copper. As he fell his companion following on his left also fell, tripping across the bowl-



FIGS. 63 and 64 – *Designs on the sides of the gold bowl of Hasanlu,*

carrier's feet and plunging into the debris.'[12] One of the men had carried a star-shaped mace-head of bronze mounted on a wooden handle. Eventually the pattern of distribution of this weapon may show whether it belonged to enemy intruders pillaging the bowl or to faithful local defenders trying to save the citadel's most precious possession.[13]

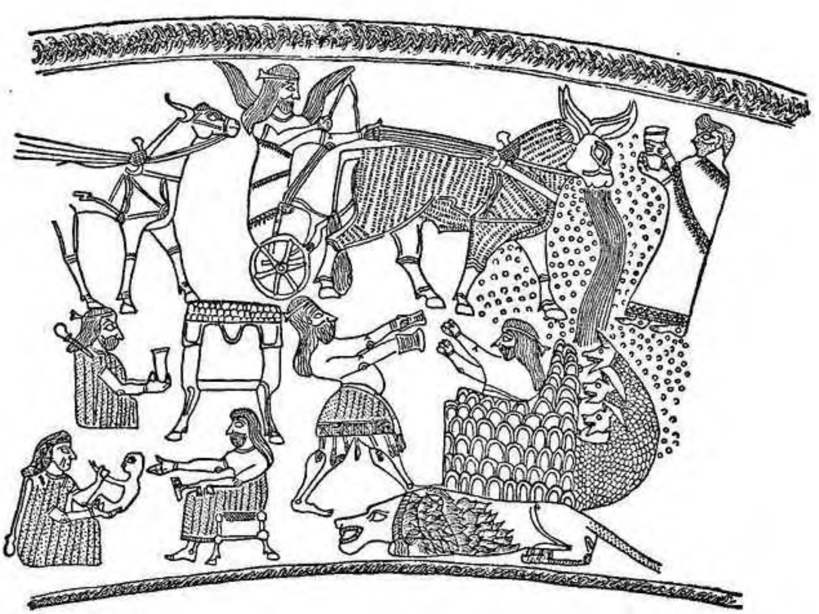
PLATES 23, 24

To people who have thoroughly examined the gold bowl it has proved utterly fascinating. Not because it is a great work of art. It is too 'busy' for that and lacks a grand composition. Its attraction lies rather in the vitality of the sturdy little figures, in the loving care applied to details, and in the richness of the mythological motifs that fill the field. Framed by a double guilloche above and a single one below, the scenes are arranged according to their significance in one or two registers divided only by imaginary ground-lines. In the topmost register there are three deities each in a chariot, two of which are drawn by mules, one by a bull. Before the last stands a priest holding a tall beaker. In contrast to all the other long-haired and bearded male figures on the bowl, the priest has his hair brushed up in a forelock and shaved at the back where the stubbly skin is showing, as it is also on his shaven cheeks and chin. He seems to be presenting a sacrifice of sheep brought by two men behind him. The three deities probably represent the weather god, who may be identified by the bull who draws his chariot and who is usually associated with the weather god in Western Asiatic religion;[14] the god of the country, wearing a horned mitre; and finally the sun god, recognizable by the winged or rayed sun-disk on his head.

Scenes

FIGS. 63, 64

Below the weather god in his chariot a mighty contest is taking place. A hero, with his hands protected by small shields which also serve as weapons, fights a monster with human head and upper body but with its lower body enclosed



12th-11th century B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran.

in a mountain, the back of which curves up in the rear in the form of a snake with three dogs' or wolves' heads. This lower scene is linked with the upper one through a stream of water spewed by the bull of the weather god's chariot. Bubbles rise at the sides of the stream and continue around the Scilla-like back of the mountain monster. It seems likely that the hero fighting the mountain monster is again the weather god, but represented in the short kilt which would have given him greater freedom of action than the ceremonial mantle in which the gods are wrapped when standing on their chariots. Beside the battle scene there is a scene at the lower left in which a child is offered to an enthroned god who holds an axe or a hammer in one hand and extends the other for the child. At the right of the battle scene stands a goddess on two rams, opening her mantle and exposing her nude body in a manner well known from representations in Syrian art.[15]

A Hurrian epic

It is tempting to associate these scenes with an epic centered on the Hurrian god Kummarbi but preserved in a Hittite literary text.[16] The Hurrians were a non-Semitic and non-Indo-European people that were found from northern Syria to north-western Iran in the latter part of the second millennium B.C. The extent of their contribution to the art and mythology of Iran is still unknown.

The epic describes the attempt of an older Kronos-like god, Kummarbi, to regain the heavenly kingship which he has lost to the storm god Teshup. Kummarbi creates an adversary for the storm god by having intercourse with a rock which subsequently bears to Kummarbi a child with a body of stone. Before the child is born, Kummarbi sends his vizier to the Sea with a message which is not preserved. We may assume, however, that an agreement was made between Kummarbi and the Sea that the child should grow up in the waters. Here we may point to the rendering on the Hasanlu bowl where the monstrous form which emerges from the rock is partly surrounded by bubbles which surely signify water, since another gold bowl has fish swimming among such bubbles.[17] After the birth of the child the mother goddesses put it on Kummarbi's knees, and the latter makes known his plan that the stone child should attack the storm god and should crush him. 'Let him scatter the gods down from Heaven like birds and smash them like empty dishes!', sings the epic. Kummarbi then decides to place the child on the back of an Atlas-like giant who carries Heaven and Earth, including the Sea. There (presumably based on the bottom of the Sea) the child is to grow one cubit a day, one acre a month. Soon the rock emerges from the Sea, and the heavenly gods become aware of it. Ishtar, the storm god's sister, tries to charm the monster — but in vain, since it is deaf and blind. The storm god then prepares to fight the monster and gives orders to his brother to prepare his war chariot, drawn by two sacred bulls. In the first encounter with the monster, Teshup is defeated. Eventually, however, Ea, the wise god of water, cuts the monster from its base, thereby assuring the ultimate victory of the weather god.

Although the names of the gods represented on the gold bowl of Hasanlu may have been quite different from those contained in the myth of Kummarbi, the scenes depicted nevertheless seem to reflect concepts resembling those of the myth: the presentation of the child to the father, the goddess displaying her womanly charms like Ishtar in the myth, and lastly the battle scene with the mountain monster.

Expressive composition

The battle scene extends over the two lower registers in the design of the bowl. Thereby the scene is visually given the importance inherent in a contest of cosmic significance. The violence of the contest is suggested by the hero's impressive stance; his thorax is bent backward to show that he is about to lunge forward at his opponent in the next instant. However, the posture is not one of actual combat. The wide step of the hero would fail to give him the necessary stability to withstand the monster's attack; the extended arms could be immediately struck by his opponent. Yet the extended arms give a strong directional emphasis toward the raised claw-like hands of the monster, and the small shields which protect the god's hands further increase the natural size of his arms, which seem stronger and longer than the less clearly articulated ones of the monster. Thus formal rather than naturalistic means are employed to convey the sense of the story.

Probably the other scenes of the gold bowl are also connected with the main theme, although this is not apparent at present: an archer views an eagle or gigantic falcon which carries a goddess on his back. This motif may recall Kummarbi's wish that the monster created by him might scatter all the gods down from Heaven. Perhaps the snake which circles the archer's head like a diadem suggests his divine and at the same time inimical character. The human figure on the back of a bird of prey recalls the rendering on a cylinder seal of the Akkad period, that is, of the late third millennium B.C., where there is also a juxtaposition of eagle and serpent. Perhaps a related concept is here transposed to the human plane. In Sasanian times we shall find a relation between the great goddess Anahita and an eagle or falcon.[18] Perhaps this relation corresponds to very early pre-Persian ideas, the reflection of which we may see in the early cylinder seal and on the gold bowl. FIG. 16

The figure of the goddess riding on a lion probably also corresponds to very early Iranian concepts, since we find it on a seal impression of the mid-third millennium B.C., Figure 13, from the period Susa D.

FIG. 13

To the right of the archer on the bowl, in the lower field, is a scene in which two heroes kill a bearded man, frontally rendered. The motif first occurs in the Old Babylonian period, when it probably illustrates the contest of the heroes Gilgamesh and Enkidu with the demonic guardian of the cedar forest. The motif, however, was taken over by Mitannian seal-cutters and continued to be rendered in Neo-Hittite reliefs.[19] In somewhat changed form it is also found on some Luristan bronzes. In all these renderings there may have been a change of meaning, and the examples from Luristan in particular may reflect specifically Iranian concepts.

Characteristics of human figures

In this group of heroes with their victim the characteristics of the rendering of human bodies on the gold bowl can be seen very clearly. Joints are shown by parallel lines, while bent joints like the knee or elbow are marked by concentric semicircles; the ankle-bone of the foot is shown by a small circle. The forehead is low and covered with hair which is indicated by slightly undulating lines and tied with a fillet. The noses have different shapes and are sometimes very prominent. The lips appear only as a short incision in the lower part of the face, which is covered by a short beard. The eyes are large, with the upper curve more accentuated than the lower, a device which gives a surprised and lively expression to the faces.

Distinctive Iranian features

In addition to these general characteristics there are a few features of the bowl which were — or which at least became — distinctively Iranian. For example, the way in which the archer places the bow on his foot is a gesture later found in Median and Achaemenid art.[20]

The eagle or falcon which carries a goddess is seen from below, like the Old Elamite bird from Susa and the later handle attachment from Hasanlu. Most distinctive is the stylization of the animal bodies, especially of the lion which forms the mount of a goddess with a mirror. Here the concentric semicircles of the knees and elbows are joined by parallel lines, while further parallel lines lead to points hidden by the mane. These lines can be seen most clearly on the rams engraved in the lower register.[20a] They look more like a harness than the natural lines marking the articulation of the animal body. The lion's paws are particularly impressive, with the large knobby toes marked by dots and lines to express more fully the terror-inspiring claws of the beast. The 'patternization' of the garments is also produced by using dots, but these are arranged in rows forming chevrons.

PLATE 9

PLATE 24 LOWER RIGHT

An interesting detail is provided by the garment pins worn by the goddess with the mirror. They are quite obviously worn with the point sticking upward, as in the Luristan bronze discussed above. Similarities with Luristan bronzes probably also exist in the hair style of the female figures, which show elaborately braided chignons. Furthermore, the animal tails which hang from the kilts of hero and archer on the bowl may be paralleled in modified form by a bronze from Luristan. Lastly, the upswept curl of the priest is found on examples of Luristan metal-work.[21]

FIG. 60

These details of costume of divine and priestly figures may have been generally Iranian. They outnumber the very slight stylistic relations which can be established with Luristan bronzes. The reason for this may be that the date of the bowl may be set before 1000 B.C., whereas the bronzes are thought to be have been made later. Such stylistic features as the articulation of the animal body by

FIG. 62 PLATE 22

lines that recall a harness, or varying 'patternization' of different parts of the body, can be traced more directly to what we have called here the elegant decorative and abstract style of Marlik, exemplified by the bowl in the Louvre and by a beaker from Marlik.

POTTERY VESSELS AND BRONZES IN SHAPE OF ANIMALS

PLATE 25 BELOW

This sophisticated elegant style presents the most striking contrast to that of the vessels in the form of animals, especially humped bulls, usually made of red or dark pottery like the animals bred today in the villages of the South Caspian region. Some of the great simplification is due to the process by which the vessel was made: a cylindrical vessel formed the body to which head and legs were subsequently attached. Vessels in animal shape have a long history in Western Asia, but this specific type seems to have had a special vogue in the fifteenth to thirteenth century B.C. when it appears in Tchoga Zanbil and in Nuzi, in northern Mesopotamia, where artlessly added heads and feet transformed the vessels into crude renderings of pigs, probably intended to contain offerings for the deity in whose temple they were discovered.[22]

The bulls and other animals found at Marlik, however, show the hand of an artist who could combine vessel and animal form into one expressive outline. The majestic horns, the mass and power of the bull's body, and his almost threatening hump were considered important; everything else was suppressed. In our example in Plate 25 the artist's natural feeling for form and line caused him — or her — to balance the great weight of the bull's foreparts by combining neck and hump and bending them slightly backwards.

Female figures of pottery and bronze

FIG. 65

In addition to the pottery bulls, stags and antelopes which have come from the regions of Gilan and Mazanderan into private and public collections, there are also several types of female figures. These are again distinguished by extremely simple and yet expressive forms reminiscent of Stone Age idols. Two related bronze figures from one of the graves at Marlik indicate that these figures also belonged to the culture represented in the Marlik cemetery. The Marlik figures have strongly stressed haunches, which are intermediate between the primitive steatopygous clay figures and the more normally proportioned nude figurines found in excavations of the earlier levels at Tepe Hissar and Tureng Tepe.[23]

Small bronze figurines of stags were also found in the Marlik graves. They were perforated and worn on the belt, as was pointed out by Namio Egami on the basis of the observations made by the Japanese expedition in the South Caspian area.[24]

Despite the lack of historical information about this material from the South Caspian area, on the basis of the finds one is tempted to venture certain conclusions concerning the people who made and owned these objects. They enjoyed great prosperity between the thirteenth and tenth centuries B.C. This is very interesting because elsewhere in Western Asia, especially

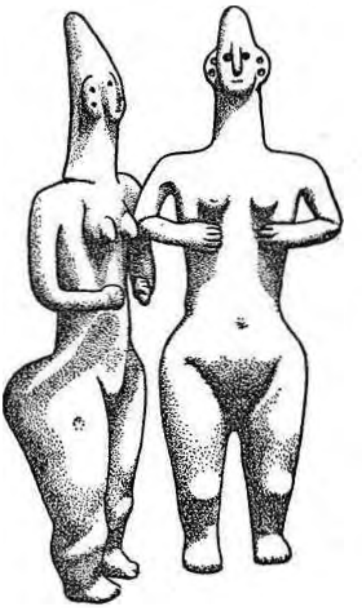
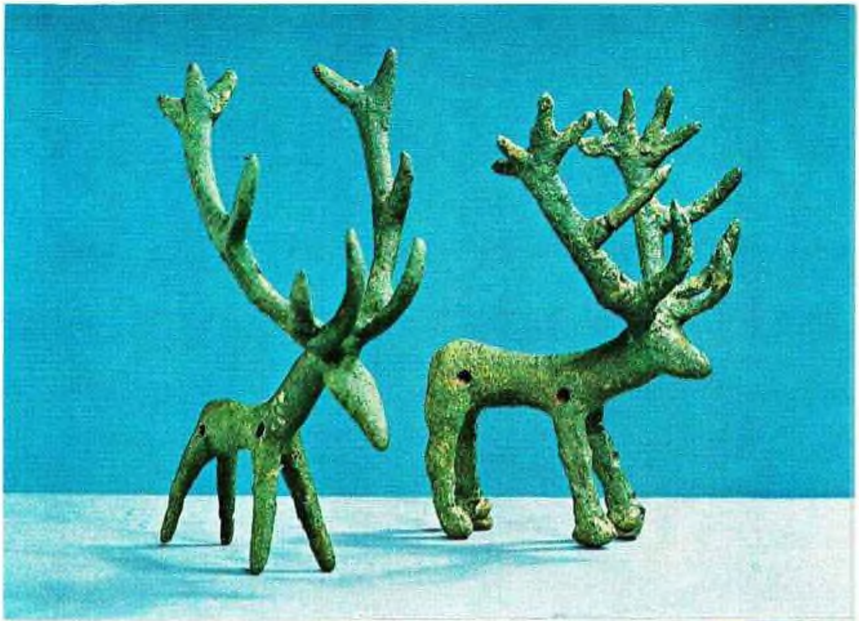
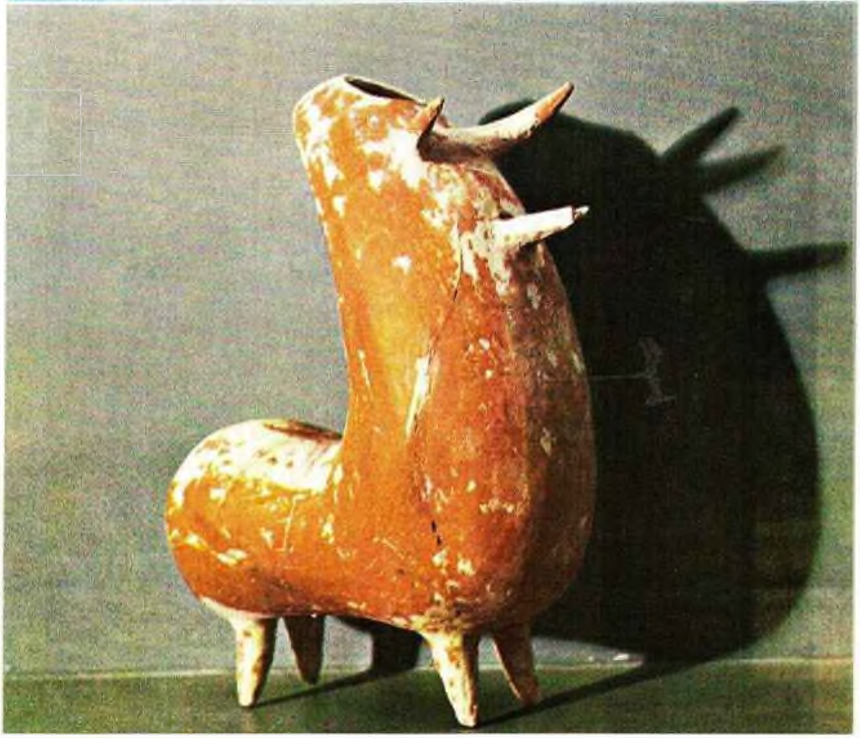


FIG. 65 – *Female figures found in a grave at Marlik. Bronze. 12th-11th century B.C.*

along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and in Anatolia, this was a period of destructive raids and invasions by barbarian peoples, with resulting poverty. The people of Marlik seem to have been chiefly concerned with cattle-breeding, and their male or perhaps female potters were able to express the concern for the power and vitality of their bulls and other animals by simple but arresting and pleasing forms. From the remains of horses in some of the tombs at Marlik — which may be taken to be the graves of leaders — and from the multitude of weapons discovered in these tombs it is clear that the cattle-breeding and agricultural population was governed by warlike masters who had been able to provide for themselves sophisticated works of art of precious metal. These were either made for them locally or, more likely, came in part as gifts or booty from different regions, such as Elam in the south and Azerbaijan in the northwest. Less accomplished gold work and jewellery, however, which was also found in the tombs, may have been made in local workshops, though even these objects often manifest a knowledge of motifs and styles from other regions. The Marlik culture surely did not exist in isolation.





VIII. FINDS OF THE LATE SECOND AND EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C. AT SIALK NEAR KASHAN

Some time after the middle of the second millennium B.C. the old site of Tepe Sialk was settled by what seems to have been a new group of people. As at Marlik, the dead were buried in a cemetery, not in their houses as had been customary in the prehistoric levels at the site. Pottery, weapons, and jewellery of bronze were put in the graves, but very little precious metal. Perhaps the group buried at Sialk was less affluent than the nobles interred at Marlik; perhaps these graves at Sialk were made somewhat earlier, when less ostentation was practised in every respect.

Two periods were distinguished in the late levels at Sialk: Periods A and B, which were also given the Roman numbers V and VI in the sequence of levels that begins with the first prehistoric settlement of Level I at Sialk. At a later time the constructions of Level V were virtually destroyed to make way for a citadel at the highest point of the settlement.[1] Therefore only graves remain of the earlier period, and these contain little more than a fine pottery of grey-black colour, more rarely red, and in a very few cases painted. The shapes are restrained; the variety of decorative techniques shows that much effort was expended on making this pottery as unobtrusively pleasing as it appears to us.

Grey pottery

The cemetery of Level VI, on the other hand, yielded the striking jars with a long spout which have become a familiar feature in most exhibits of Western Asiatic art. These jars were made in grey or red monochrome pottery, or they were of brown or buff clay and painted with a red colour which varied from pink to purple. The spouts frequently imitate by their shape and by the design painted upon them the neck and beak or the comb of a bird. Occasionally the head of an animal appears at the back of the spout (see the example in Chart II, lower left).

Painted pottery

PLATE 26

The geometric motifs employed in the decoration of this pottery are combined in such a way as to suggest some meaning. The pointed triangles, for example, are often arranged in a circle or semicircle and suggest rays, while small squares or lozenges seem to form large carpet-like strips or squares. So arranged, these apparently 'meaningful' geometric motifs differ from those of similar form used purely decoratively on the rare examples of painted pottery from the cemetery of Level V. Most characteristic of the pottery of Level VI, however, are the designs of animals, of which, in turn, the example with a bull in Chart II is the most distinctive. There the animal is rendered with lowered head and horn in the posture of attack, and so distinguished from the usual rendering of walking animals which carry their horned heads proudly upright. The posture of the heads and the decoratively curved necks seem to be derived from the elegant decorative bulls of the Marlik beaker with concave sides. Instead of the delicately stepping bulls of that beaker, however, which still maintain a tenuous relation with the ground-line, the ground-line is here disregarded as a base for the figure,

CHART II
Sialk B

FIG. 62

PLATE 25 – Above: bronze pendants in the form of stags from the south-western Caspian region. *Height 10 cm and 10.5 cm, length 7 cm and 7.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.* Below: vessel in the shape of a bull, said to come from the south-western Caspian region. 12th or 11th century B.C. *Height about 27 cm, length about 28 cm. N. Heeramaneck Collection, New York. Cf. p. 102.*

since only the forefeet are set down upon it, while the hind legs float in the air. The resulting pose is awkward and insecure. A similarly uncertain pose caused by the same disregard for a common ground-line for all four feet of the animal can be observed in the jar in Plate 26. PLATE 26 BELOW LEFT

Thus it seems that the insecure pose, originally derived from the very slight relation to the ground-line of the thin-limbed delicate creatures in the abstract decorative Marlik style, became a criterion of the more vigorous style of the early first millennium B.C. In other words the provincial painters of Sialk misinterpreted the delicate renderings of the earlier style — which may have already reached them in later coarsened and adulterated renderings[2] — to mean that animals could be put in a field in various poses without having a solid ground-line on which to stand. FIG. 62

On the same vessel in Plate 26 a falcon is painted below the handle. The bird's body is shown as if viewed from below, a type of rendering also found on the gold bowl from Hasanlu, on a handle attachment in the form of a bird from the same site, and also in the Old Elamite falcon from Sụsa. These examples show that this rendering of the bird of prey is a criterion of style which prevailed for many centuries in many regions of Iran. PLATE 26 BELOW RIGHT PLATE 24 PLATE 9

Another link with other regions of Iran is provided by the small copper figurines of women in the same posture and with the same perforated ear-lobes as the large female figures from the Marlik tomb. The smaller size of the figures from Sialk may again be due to the lesser wealth of the people buried there. But it may also exemplify a development toward smaller figures for tombs in the centuries following the Marlik burials.[3]

These are all tentative suggestions, however, which remain to be substantiated by further discoveries.

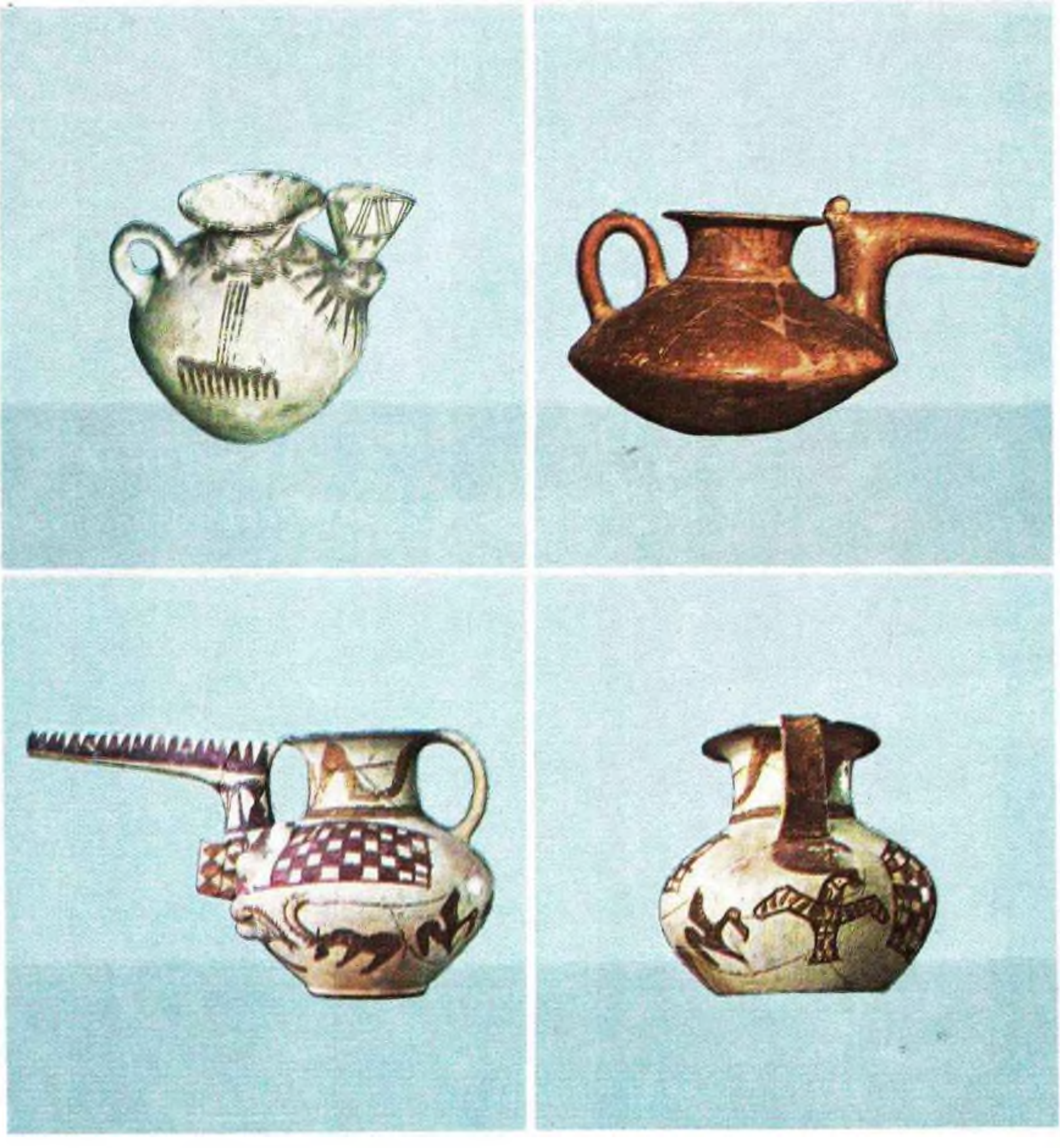


PLATE 26 – Pottery of the early first millennium from Sialk. 10th-9th century B.C. Above, left: vessel with funnel-shaped spout. *Formerly in the possession of K. Rabenou. Height 20 cm, diameter about 19 cm.* Above, right: spouted jar, painted red. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height 13 cm, diameter 20 cm.* Below, left and right: spouted jar of yellowish clay painted in dark red; around the base of the spout are small knobs imitating the rivets of a metal vessel. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height 13 cm, diameter about 13 cm. Cf. pp. 105, 106.*

IX. THE FINDS OF HASANLU — THE ART OF THE MANNEANS

The excavations at Hasanlu in the Solduz valley of Azerbaijan, in which the gold bowl was found, have thrown light on the prehistory of north-western Iran, especially in the late second and early first millennium B.C. The best-known and richest period so far excavated, Period IV, is characterized by grey pottery, accompanied by black and red varieties. The black variety is very thin and brittle, burnished and fired in a reducing atmosphere; the cross-section of some of the sherds shows that the pottery was occasionally fired a second time in a reducing atmosphere to obtain the desired black metallic surface. The body of the vessel is sometimes fluted, quadrooned or may be decorated with grooves. The handles are often raised higher than the vessel rim and have a tab for the thumb, like beer-mugs of modern times. This fine black pottery was used in the citadel as a kind of palace ware and was undoubtedly made in imitation of metal vessels. While it has been found in buildings, it has not to date been found in graves. The grey to grey-black pottery which has been found in graves of this period is much thicker than the black pottery and is of a less fine paste. An average grave in the cemetery area contains a combination of small bowls, a large storage jar and a long spouted jar for liquids. We show one of these spouted jars standing on the tripod on which it was found. The feet of the pottery tripod are in the shape of a bull's cloven hooves; in another example, they are formed like shoes with upturned toes. A spouted jar has been found in every excavated grave as well as in the living quarters. Obviously the jars served not only as funerary gifts but were also used for practical purposes; one can pour from them very well.

PLATES 23, 24

PLATE 27 BELOW

PLATE 27 ABOVE LEFT

The period of grey pottery is preceded by an earlier stage of grey button-base pottery, Period V. Instead of spouted vessels, goblets like the one in Plate 27 (above right) were placed in the grave with the last drink for the deceased. They were accompanied by small storage jars and bowls and, as in the later graves, a quarter or two of goat or sheep. The light grey pottery of this period is related to that of central Iran both in its grey colouring and in its goblet shapes, which are similar to pottery from Sialk V, Giyan I and Khurvin, a necropolis near Teheran. At the same time the shapes of associated painted buff-coloured pottery, also with tiny bases, connect the entire cultural layer of Period V at Hasanlu with levels in northern Mesopotamia which are dated about 1500–1200 B.C., the period during which the Hurrians were a dominant ethnic element. The painted vessels are, however, rare in Period V and appear to be a carry-over from the preceding level in which they are characteristic and the grey pottery is completely absent.

PLATE 27 ABOVE RIGHT

These ceramic comparisons indicate approximately the dating of the levels at Hasanlu, which has now been given greater precision through radio-carbon measurements. The time of the button-base pottery of Period V is given by four samples which range in date from 1217 ± 122 B.C. (sample P-198) to 1016 ± 45 B.C. (P-419) with a median date of about 1116 B.C. For the period of the grey ware eight samples have been assayed, mainly using fragments of wooden beams and columns of poplar wood from the buildings. The dates obtained should determine, therefore, the time of the cutting of the wood and the construction of the buildings. These dates range in time from 1033 ± 51 B.C. to 950 ± 55 B.C.

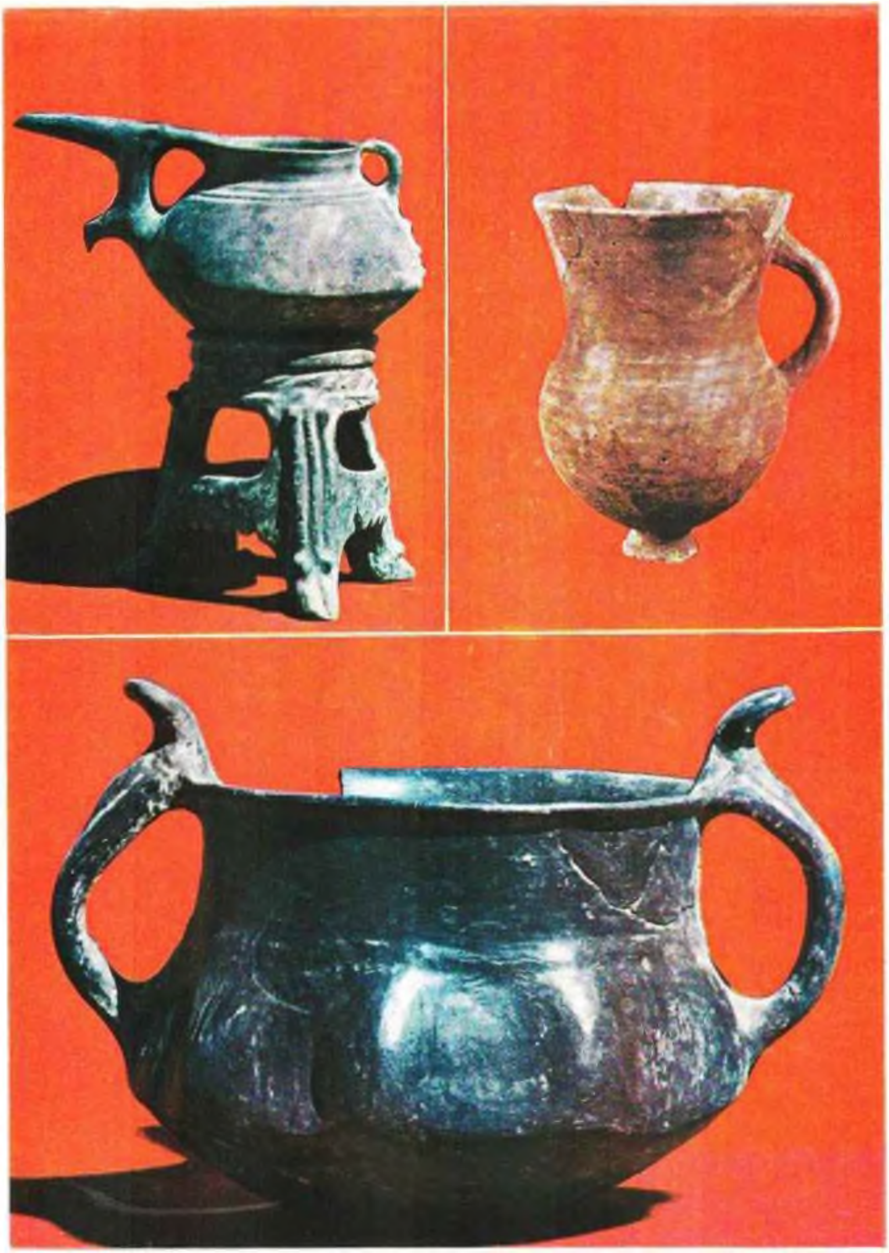


PLATE 27 – Pottery from Hasanlu, 10th-9th century B.C., except the tall goblet which is 12th-10th century B.C. Above, left: grey spouted jar on the tripod with bulls' feet on which it was found. *Height of tripod 24 cm, upper diameter 17.5 cm; height of spouted jar 19 cm, diameter of mouth 13.8 cm.* Above, right: tall button-base goblet of burnished yellowish-grey clay. *Height 15.7 cm, diameter of upper rim 12.2 cm. University Museum, Philadelphia.* Below: pot or tankard of black palace ware. *Height 7.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Cf. p. 108.*

(P-424) with an average of 1001 ± 20 B.C. The beginning of the period should thus fall around 1000 B.C. Only two samples of material which may be considered contemporary with the destruction of the citadel have as yet been measured: one, a sample of grapes (hence the fire took place in August or September of the year), measured 912 ± 69 B.C. (P-577), and the other, a sample of charred wheat, 811 ± 69 B.C. (P-576). More samples must be assayed, but the present evidence provides an average date of 862 ± 49 B.C. for the general time of the destruction — a date which is significantly different statistically from the date of the construction.[1] A date in the late ninth century is also supported by a comparison of the artifacts found in the burned buildings at Hasanlu and those discovered elsewhere.

The description of the pottery of these two periods provides an indication of historical conditions in the area to which Hasanlu belongs. There is a major break around 1200 B.C. with the end of the painted buff ware and the abrupt appearance of the button-base grey ware. There is no break in the development of the grey ware between the late second and early first millennium B.C., although new forms probably reflect new influences. The spouted jar, which is a larger container, replaces the goblet of earlier times; moreover, the concept of a spouted jar appears to occur in Sialk V earlier than at Hasanlu and probably indicates influence from central Iran at the latter site. Non-ceramic finds at Hasanlu show that in the ninth century B.C. strong Assyrian influence was also felt.

Assyrian military reports and administrative documents of the ninth century indicate that the area from Lake Urmia and its vicinity in southern Azerbaijan to the mountains of Kurdistan was called Mannai. Tentatively, therefore, we have called Hasanlu IV, with its characteristic grey pottery dated to the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., 'Mannean', assuming at the same time that the Manneans of that period were partly descended from Hurrians or a related people of the second millennium. Such an assumption is supported by the place-names and personal names of the Manneans recorded in the Assyrian and Urartian annals. At the same time we recognize the possibility that other ethnic elements such as the Indo-European also *may* have been included by this time within the Mannean area. In the north and north-west the Manneans were neighbours of the powerful Urartians, whose centre was situated on Lake Van about 800 B.C. To the west of the Manneans were the Assyrians, separated from them by the Zagros mountains. In the south-east the Medes began to occupy the plain of Hamadan and emerged in the seventh century as a third power bordering Mannai.

The Manneans are first mentioned in the reports of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), who made sallies into the neighbouring countries in the east and west in order to secure his frontiers and to collect booty. At the time of the Urartian expansion under King Menua (810–781 B.C.) the Manneans are also mentioned in Urartian inscriptions. This is roughly the time of the destruction of the citadel of Period IV at Hasanlu.

BUILDINGS ON THE CITADEL

PLAN: FIG. 66

Hasanlu, whose ancient name we do not know, was one of the small towns of the region, crowned by a high citadel. In the citadel, which was surrounded by a powerful fortification wall of mud brick set upon a stone foundation, were probably housed the religious centres of the town and the seat of the local lord or administrator. The scattered houses of the outer town, which were inhabited by craftsmen and probably also by merchants and farmers, and the cemetery

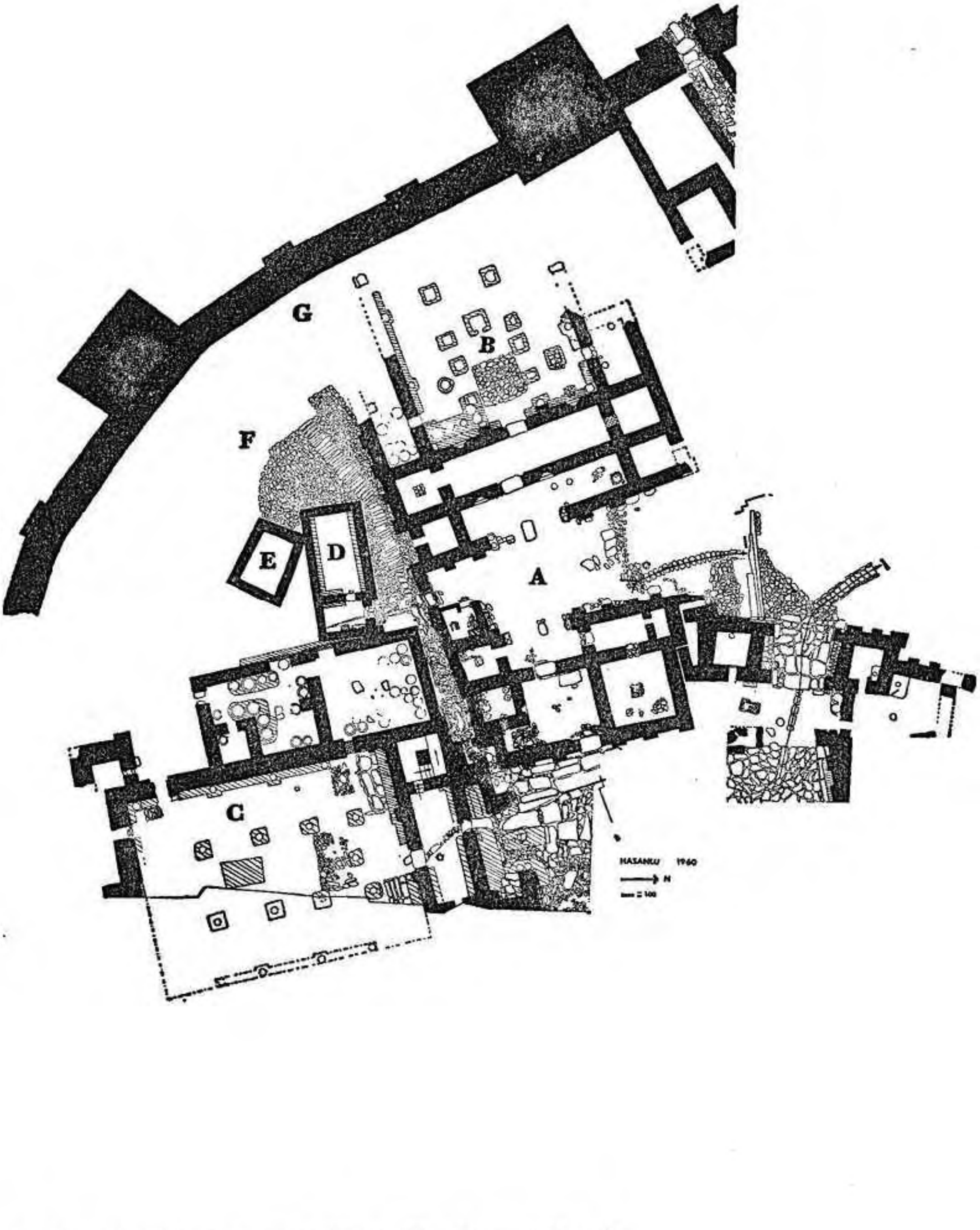


FIG. 66 – *Plan of the ninth-century buildings at Hasanlu excavated in 1960.*

which belonged to the town had no protection. In case of war the inhabitants fled to the citadel. The walls of the citadel were probably about nine metres high and were over three metres thick. Every thirty metres there was a fortification tower. Evenly spaced between the towers was a pair of piers which reinforced the mud-brick wall. This type of fortification wall is very similar to that of the Urartians. The main gate was on the western side of the citadel but has not yet been excavated. Within the fortification wall three major buildings have been unearthed: two in the south-western quarter and one in the north-west. The three buildings all share a common general plan consisting of an entry portico leading into a long, narrow reception room, behind which lies a columned hall. Either the portico or the reception room is flanked by a stairway leading to an upper floor. The columned hall is flanked by storage-rooms on both sides. These halls may be the prototypes of the later columned halls of the Achaemenid period. Only the column-bases remain. Each consists of a stone slab under a mud-plaster socle which preserves the original round shape of the wooden column. Charred fragments of the columns show that they were of poplar wood. The columned halls of all three buildings were roofed with poles, small pieces of timber, small wooden slats, mud plaster and probably reeds. In Buildings I and II a small rectangular area of paving with a sunken pithos drain suggests the possibility that there may have been an open area in the roof for purposes of light and ventilation. On the other hand these paved areas might also have been used for some ritual or more practical purpose. A bench ran along the walls, and in Building I there were three hearths.

Building I consisted of two wings, east and west, lying across an open court. Building I East has a portico leading to a large square room on the entrance wall of which a flat stone forms a platform. One is reminded here of similar raised daises in Assyrian throne-rooms and may assume that here, too, a reception room was intended. The entrances of the two wings of the building which face the court, as well as the entrances to Buildings II and III, are reminiscent in the position of the portico and the reception room lying behind it — both parallel to the façade — of the frontal section of northern Syrian palaces called *bit hilani* by the Assyrians. The joining of this architectural plan with the local columned hall is interesting. Building II is considered tentatively to be a temple. Such an identification is suggested by the stone platform set in the centre of the portico entrance, some of the small objects found in the building, and the tragic evidence of some forty skeletons, mostly very young women, who apparently were killed just inside the entrance to the columned hall in which they had sought refuge. In the storage-rooms, on either side of the columned hall in all three buildings, were large pottery containers and pottery funnels, probably for wine (crushed wine grapes have been identified among the plant remains), which is still made in this region.

Between Buildings I and II lies a two-room structure called the Bead House by the excavator because so many beads of white paste, carnelian and sea-shells were found in it. Many of the shells were brought back from the area of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean and indicate trade with the south. Broken bone cosmetic containers decorated with patterns of incised circles and shattered tripod bowls of grey basalt were also found. Together with these objects was a tiny fragment of gold foil bearing the figure of a winged Assyrian genius. This motif points to a connection of this small building with the religious installations of Hasanlu. In a single-roomed structure near by, called South House by the

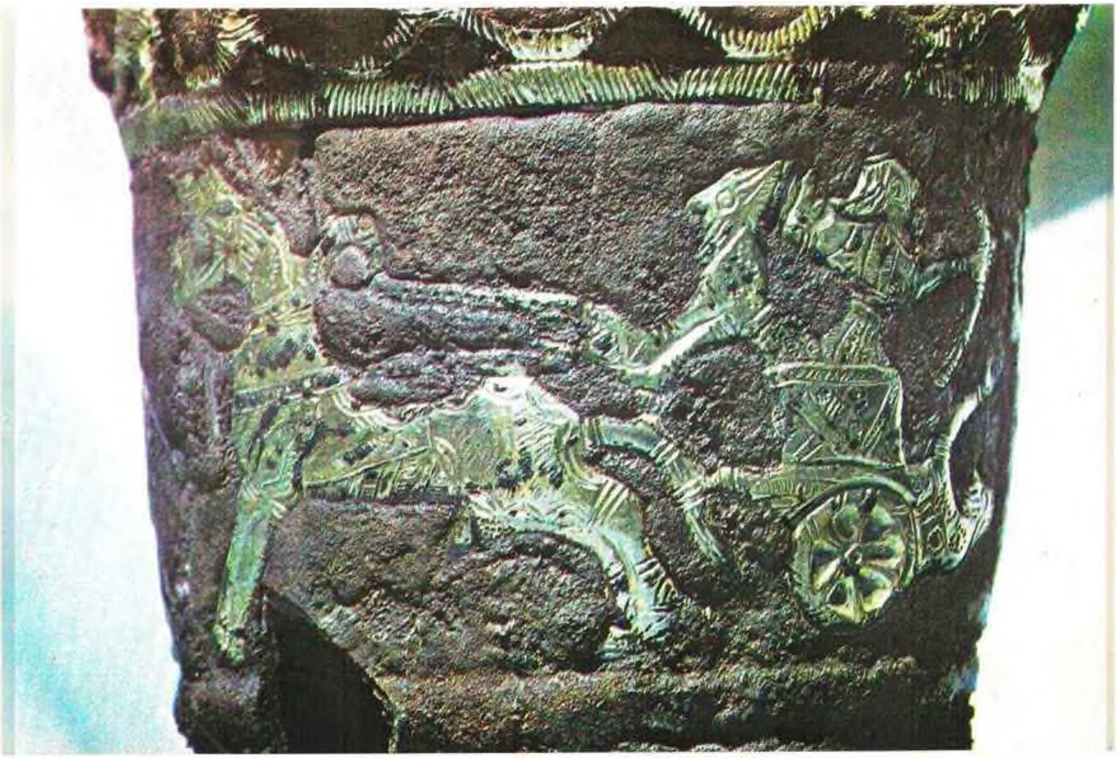


PLATE 28 – Detail from the silver beaker of Hasanlu. 9th century B.C. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height of entire beaker 17 cm, diameter of upper rim 10 cm, of base 6.8 cm. Cf. pp. 88, 114.*

excavator, a hearth and a large number of small grey-brown pottery bowls with pointed bases were found. These vessels may also have had a ritual use.

The ground-floor rooms which have been discussed may not have been the most important at Hasanlu. On the second floor, over the rooms around the columned hall, indicated by the stairways, the volume of collapsed brickwork, a section of collapsed wall six metres in height, and the scatter of objects in the debris above burned ceiling beams and plaster, there may quite possibly have been the most important rooms, just as they are in modern buildings near the site. At any rate, an important second-floor room must have been in the south-east corner of Building I above a little refuse room, for it was into this area with its fill of broken shallow black bowls and sheep and goat bones that the three soldiers and the golden bowl discussed above had fallen. In a similar manner a mass of objects including a bronze stand with figured decoration and a silver and electrum beaker had fallen from above the doorway at the rear of the portico of the west wing of the building.

PLATES 23, 24

SELECTED FINDS

Silver beaker

The silver beaker was wrapped inside and out in a piece of material which may be seen in the impression of the weave on the partially corroded surface. The simplest explanation is that this material was meant to protect the beaker from

PLATE 28 tarnishing by oxidization. Since leather fills this purpose better than cloth, an alternative suggestion might be that the bowl was in a bundle of loot being readied for removal from the building.

The shape of the beaker is reminiscent of the beaker with concave sides from Marlik, of vessels from Luristan, and also of tall beakers found in Georgian excavations.[2] The decoration of the beaker, however, is unique. FIG. 62

Four raised ridges divide the surface of the beaker into five cylindrical fields, of which the upper and the lower ones are the narrowest and have a decoration of triple palmettes. In places where the electrum overlay is well preserved, one can see that it was hatched in different directions; this hatching gives the impression of tightly wound silver thread. The widest field shows the victory scene following a battle. Below there is an animal contest and possibly a hunting scene. One field has been left empty. Most interesting is the victory scene. The charioteer looks in the direction of the horses he guides, while the archer, with drawn bow, probably the main figure of the scene, guards a disarmed figure walking behind the chariot, who in turn is followed by an armed soldier leading a riderless horse. A second armed soldier brings up the rear. A second enemy appears to lie between the chariot body and the wheel, imploringly raising one hand.

The organization of the victory procession reflects the Assyrian style of rhythmically ordered strips illustrating battle scenes, especially as created by the artists of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.).[3] Several features of the chariot on the beaker can be paralleled in Ashurnasirpal's reliefs: the heavy body of the chariot to which crossed quivers are attached on the side, the form and proportion of the wheel, even the bird's head in which the chariot pole ends. The fact that the body of the chariot here rests directly upon the axle, not in front of it, may be due of the artist's quest for symmetry.

In the hunting reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, the king is occasionally shown shooting backwards with bow and arrow — a remarkable physical feat in a rapidly moving chariot without springs. In battle reliefs the Assyrian king is never shown in this position, probably because such a representation offended the Assyrian sense of realism. There can be found parallels in the Assyrian reliefs for the enemy who raises a hand in supplication and also for one hanging over the chariot wheel,[4] but not for the prisoner walking calmly behind the chariot and represented in a more dignified manner than are similar captives in Assyrian reliefs. Whether this representation on the silver beaker is purposeful or accidental cannot be decided here. The detail is one of many which differentiate the beaker of Hasanlu from Assyrian prototypes. The most characteristic features of the figures of the Hasanlu beaker are the straight hair tied with a band or diadem (except for the charioteer who wears a pointed helmet) and the straight beard, in contrast to the curly hair and beard of the Assyrians. Further characteristics of the figures of the Hasanlu beaker are the low receding forehead, strongly accentuated noses, large circular eyes and the rich decoration of the clothes. The outlines of the animals are marked on the inside with a series of concentric arches similar to those which indicate some of the joints of the figures on the gold bowl. The rest of the animal body is here indicated by hatching in irregular strips. Despite its crude exaggeration the decoration of the animal bodies is reminiscent of that on the gold bowl. Moreover, one can note in both bowl and beaker a related intensity of expression. Although the beaker belongs to a period which is two hundred years later, and has incorporated Assyrian in- PLATE 24

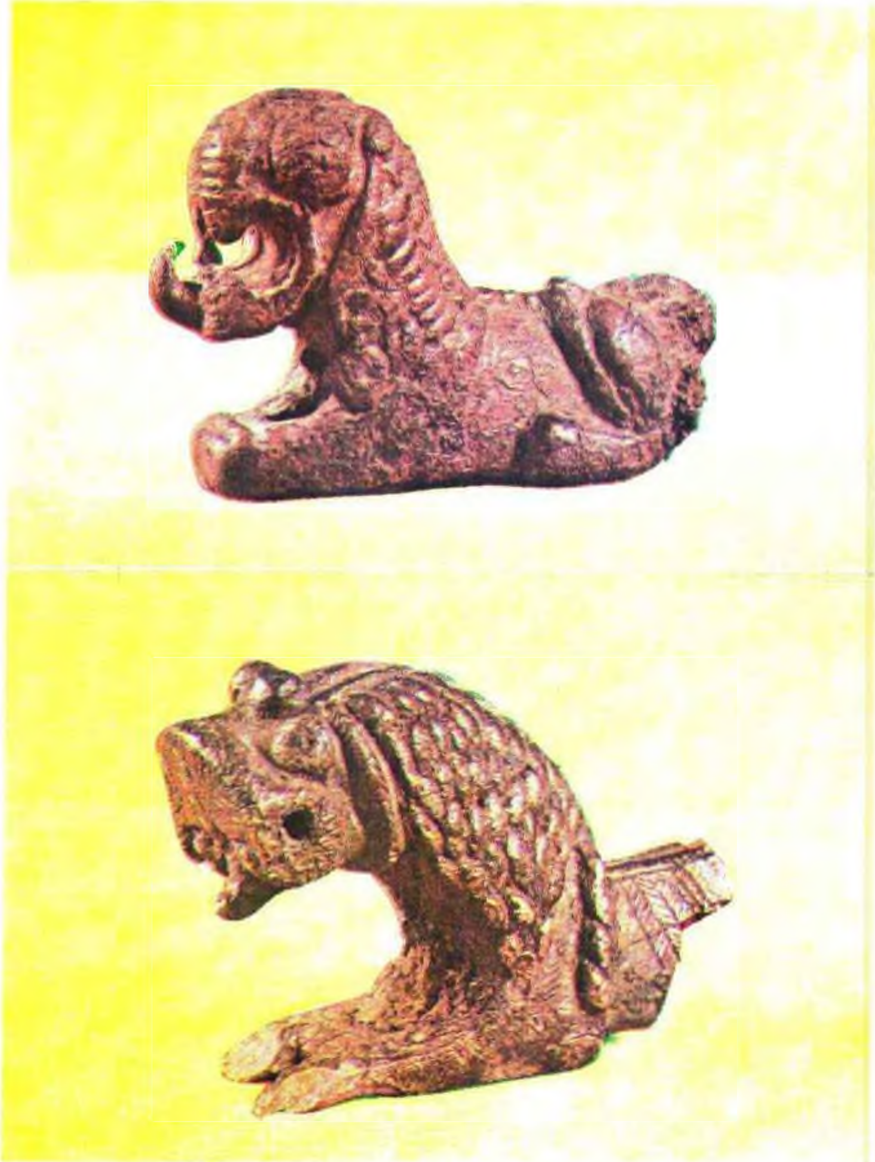


Plate 29 – Two pins with heads of bronze in the shape of lions, cast over spikes of iron, which have now disappeared. Hasanlu, 9th century B.C. *University Museum, Philadelphia.* Above: *height 4 cm, length 7.5 cm. Below: height 4.1 cm, length 6.2 cm. Cf. p. 116.*

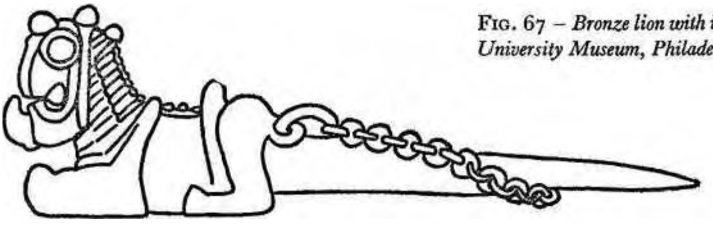


FIG. 67 – *Bronze lion with iron pin from Hasanlu. University Museum, Philadelphia.*

fluence in theme and composition, the liveliness of the representation, which is the most attractive trait of this metal art, has been retained.

Pins with lions

FIG. 67

PLATE 29

It is not impossible that we may be able to associate with the style of the beaker a group of objects of a different nature also found at Hasanlu: large iron garment pins which end in bronze lions. Their use was determined only through their association in groups of one to three with individual bodies in the columned hall of Building II. The fragmentary lion reproduced below in our Plate 29 was purchased during the first season of excavation, but had certainly been found at Hasanlu. It shows the thin ruff and tufts of hair on the mane also found on the lion represented on the silver beaker from Hasanlu. One might even point to the fact that the bronze lion's legs and body are marked by patterns of hatched lines also used on animals of the beaker, though none have the same regular herring-bone pattern. The tendency toward geometrization noticeable in Iranian art of the tenth to ninth centuries B.C., as seen for example in some of the Elamite tiles assigned to the same period, and also in seals and bronzes of Luristan, again manifests itself here but in a different, locally conditioned manner.

Glazed wall-tile

PLATE 30

Closer connection between objects made and used at Hasanlu and the style of Elam in south-western Iran may be manifested in a glazed square wall-tile which has the bearded head of a human-headed bull in place of a plain knob. Both parts of the tile were fashioned separately, and then joined together before glazing and firing. The head is separated from the tile by a ridge which forms a kind of collar. The head is hollow, allowing the piece to fit over a wooden peg driven into the wall. Once in this position, the tile was fastened by a much smaller peg driven through a hole in the side just below the ridge. The colours now visible on the head are red, blue-green and black, but of course they were modified by fire during the destruction of the town.

This wall-tile represents a combination of the glazed wall-tiles of Assyrian palaces and their protective human-headed bulls, which were placed at the main entrances.[5] In none of the Assyrian palaces, however, has a similar combination of tile and plastically sculptured human-headed bull been found. One can only refer to a comparable tile found in the Ishtar Temple at Ashur, which bears a sculptured calf's head.[6] On the other hand the shape of the horns, the thick nose, the beard which is not too long, all relate to a terracotta head from Susa.[7] Since the use of glazed wall-tiles probably came into fashion at Susa, the head from Hasanlu may be traceable to Elamite influence. Other tiles from Hasanlu, however, which show stylized lotus and palmette designs and other Assyrianizing patterns, are surely imitations of Assyrian prototypes.

Knife-handle with cloisonné

An object for which no foreign parallels can be cited is a knife-handle with gold cloisonné found in the excavation of Building II. The gold outlines describe a

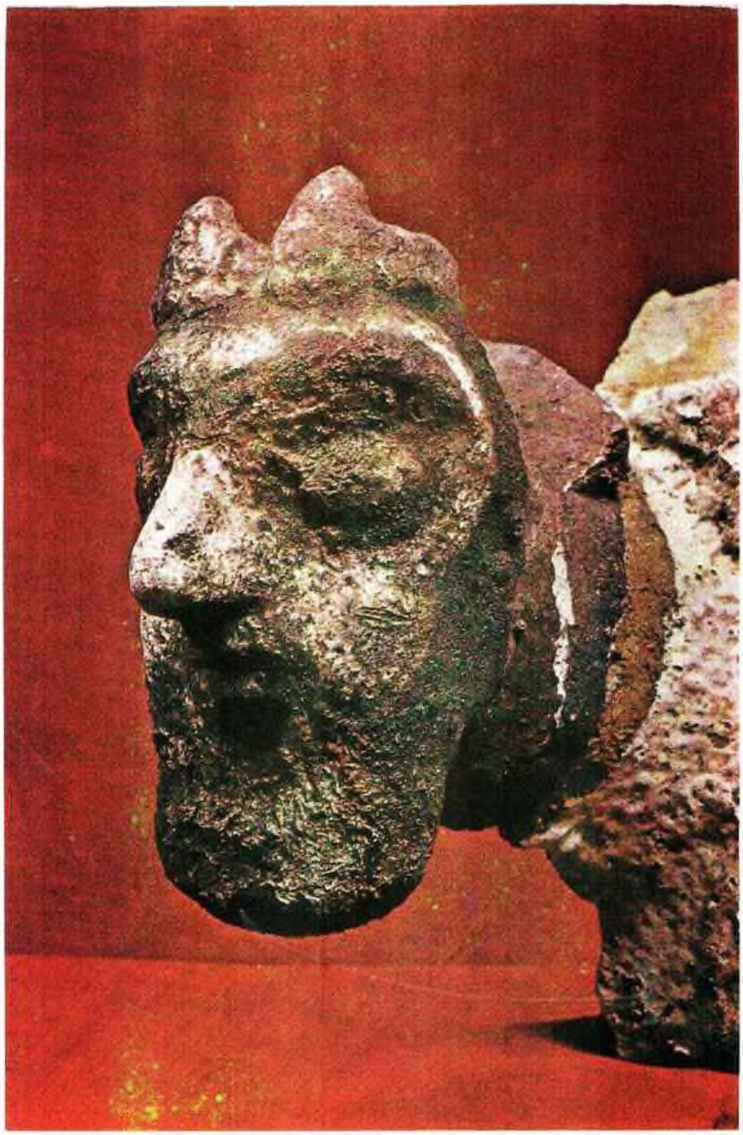


PLATE 30 – Glazed knob in the shape of a human-headed bull from Hasanlu. 9th century B.C. *University Museum, Philadelphia. Width of face 4.5 cm. Cf. p. 116.*

PLATE 31 bearded man with shoulder-length hair and short-fringed kilt. His right hand is raised in a gesture of greeting or worship. From the wrist of the left hand, which is brought around the body, hangs a scarf or cloth. As on the prehistoric knife-handle from Tepe Sialk, a human figure seems to be represented in a posture of reverence. In both instances one may guess at the ritual use of the knife without being able to give any proof. Earlier cloisonné works are unknown in Iran, PLATE 9 LEFT although the small falcon from Susa was produced in a related technique. The execution of the knife-handle of Hasanlu, however, is not careful enough to indicate a beginning of cloisonné technique. Rather, one would think that an already established technique was here applied cursorily and somewhat awkwardly. The Hasanlu knife-handle and later cloisonné work from Ziwiye[8] indicate the path which this technique took from its point of departure somewhere in Iran toward the north. From there it may have spread to the north-east, to reappear a few centuries later in more elegant form in the magnificent armlets of the Oxus Treasure. The reason for the rarity of cloisonné objects is surely their precious material. Originally this colourful technique must have been widely distributed in Iran and the neighbouring countries.

Some of the finest metal-work discovered at Hasanlu is preserved in the form of *'Rhyta'* PLATE 32 rhyta. The Greek word *rhyton* is derived from the running of liquid; it actually refers only to a vessel from which a thin stream of liquid issues. Usually the word is used, however, for drinking-vessels the lower part of which is formed by an animal head that often, but not always, has an opening between the lips from which the liquid can flow. The bronze vessel from Hasanlu in the form of a ram's head has no such opening and should therefore better be called a cup or situla in the form of a ram's head, like the closely related situlae from Gordion.[9] All these situlae have a separate cup to hold the liquid placed within the animal's head. In a second example, a bronze horse's-head rhyton, no cup has been preserved, nor is there a spout between the lips. Both vessels, like the earlier drinking-horns from which they descend, would have had to be carried by cup-bearers, since they have no base on which to stand.

In the situla representing a ram the eyes are inlaid with an opaque blue substance, as were the eyebrows, and probably also the nostrils.[10] Below the rim there is a silver band with a pattern in repoussé of gazelles and rosettes. The horns were originally covered with silver, as is shown by tiny pieces still preserved. These different materials would have created a fairly colourful impression, as suggested in the reconstruction in our plate.

In the horse rhyton no traces of another material have been found. This object may have been meant to impress by its noble, naturalistic outline rather than by any effects of contrasting colours. The indication of the mane by undulating strands of hair reminds one in more naturalistic form of horses on Urartian bronze *psalia* found in a grave at Altin Tepe near Erzincan.[11] The mane, which is combed on to the neck, and which forms a semicircle on the forehead, seems to be characteristic of Urartian horses as well as of the horse rhyton from Hasanlu. It is also visible on a somewhat later horse from the Urartian fortress Taishebaini at Karmir Blur in Russian Armenia.[12] The Urartian horse is much more stylized than the softer naturalistic horse rhyton of Hasanlu.

A lively representation of animals in relief, more precisely of one preserved *Fragment of a blue vase* PLATE 33 animal in relief, is found on the fragment of a vase made from a composite blue substance identical with or very similar to the inlays on the ram's-head rhyton already described. The rampant goat seen on the fragment is one of a pair

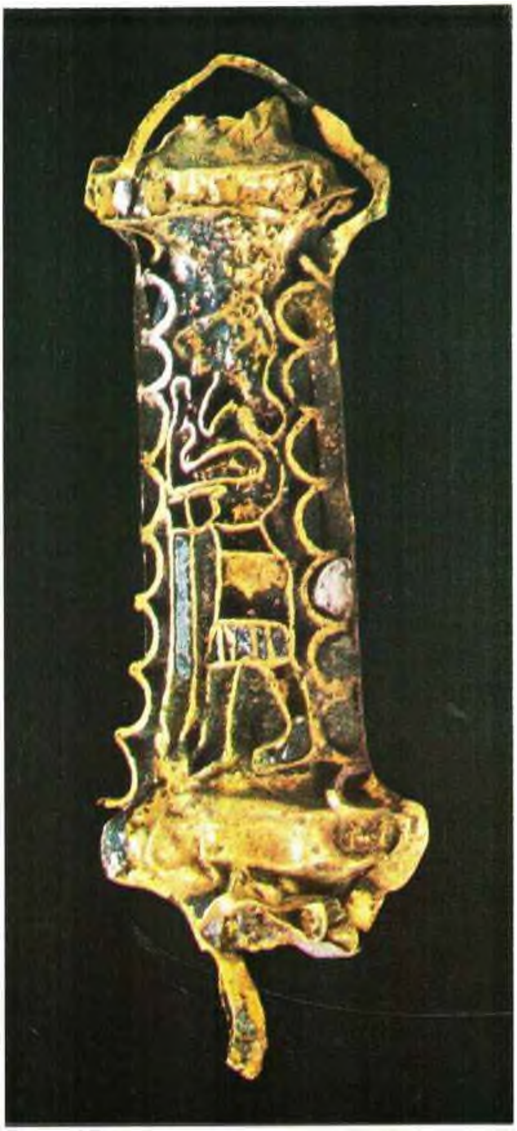


PLATE 31 – Knife-handle with gold cloisonné from Hasanlu. In some places the coloured inlays are preserved. 9th century B.C. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Length 6 cm, width 2.3 cm. Cf. p. 118.*

flanking a central palmette-tree. The second goat is represented only by a fore and a hind leg. A winged figure may be indicated by the border of a wing on the upper left edge of the fragment.

Like all objects from Hasanlu, this one also has its own character, although connections with Assyrian representations are obvious. The closest similar motifs are found on the painted pottery from Ashur. In the Assyrian representations, however, natural trees which grow on mountains are clearly differentiated from palmette-trees, which seem to be artificial structures and do not issue from a mountain. Here, on the fragment from Hasanlu, the palmette-tree grows from a mountain which is indicated by the scale pattern below. Furthermore, the moufflons or ibexes of the Assyrian representations usually do not touch the tree; if they do so, they only place one leg on the tree. On the Hasanlu fragment, however, the animal places the three legs which are preserved upon the branches of the palmette-tree. In fact the branches almost seem to bend under the weight of the goat and remind one of goats eating the leaves of trees, as they may be observed doing today in Iran. It is instructive to compare the representation from Hasanlu with the repoussé gold plate from Ziwiye, where there is also an ibex next to a tree. The ibex from Ziwiye does not even touch the tree — indeed, does not seem connected with it — while this connection is made very clear on the Hasanlu fragment. Again one is struck by the liveliness of the expression in this and in the other works of Hasanlu discussed here. This liveliness seems to be a criterion of the style of this region during the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium B.C. Whether, as suggested by the find of a beaker from Marlik with similar lively, factual renderings of animals, the style extended considerably beyond Hasanlu, through northern Iran, is not yet certain.

PLATE 37 ABOVE

Seals The seals found at Hasanlu give a picture of the external connections of the town in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. Most of them were made in Assyrian style, although probably only a few were actual imports. A distinctive and probably local style is represented by a tall cylinder[13] of the same blue composition already seen in the vase fragments and rhyton inlay. The slender animals with their uncertain postures in relation to the ground-line correspond to a general trend of seal representation in Iran in this period. Several stamp seals were brought from Palestine and Syria. A connection with these regions is also indicated by certain sea-shells and by the discovery of a ritual lion bowl of the blue material mentioned above, the base of which is in the shape of a hand.[14] This type of vessel is widely distributed in the West. The establishment of this contact with the West is very important, because it continued in the following centuries and is represented in the art of the Treasure of Ziwiye discussed in the next chapter.

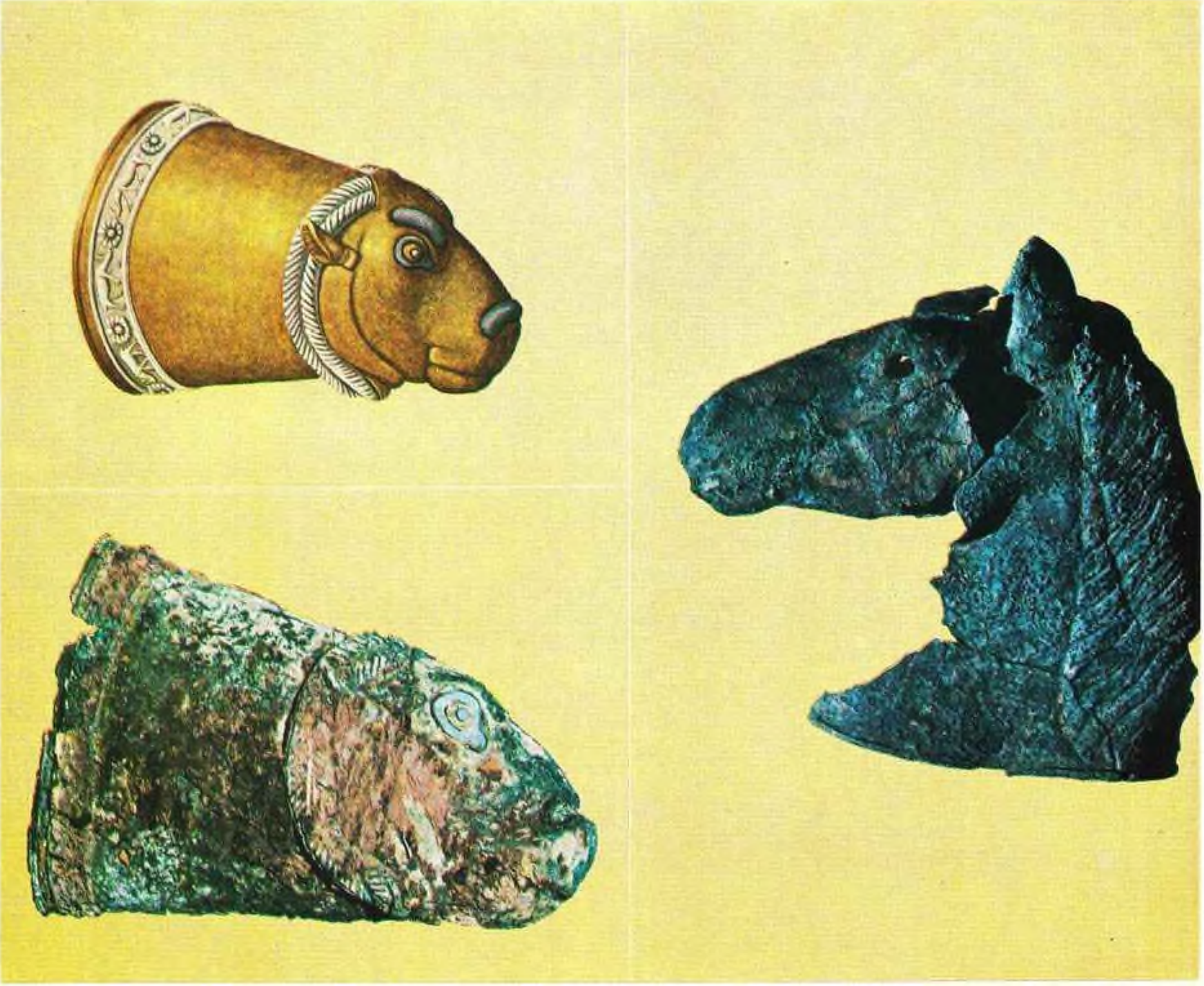


PLATE 32 – 'Rhyta' from Hasanlu. 9th century B.C. Above, left: reconstruction (drawing: G. Muscarella) of the bronze cup in the form of a ram's head shown below. *Length of actual rhyton 15 cm, height 10.5 cm.* Right: rhyton in the shape of a horse's head. Copper or bronze. 9th century B.C. *Height 15 cm, diameter about 11 cm. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Cf. p. 118.*

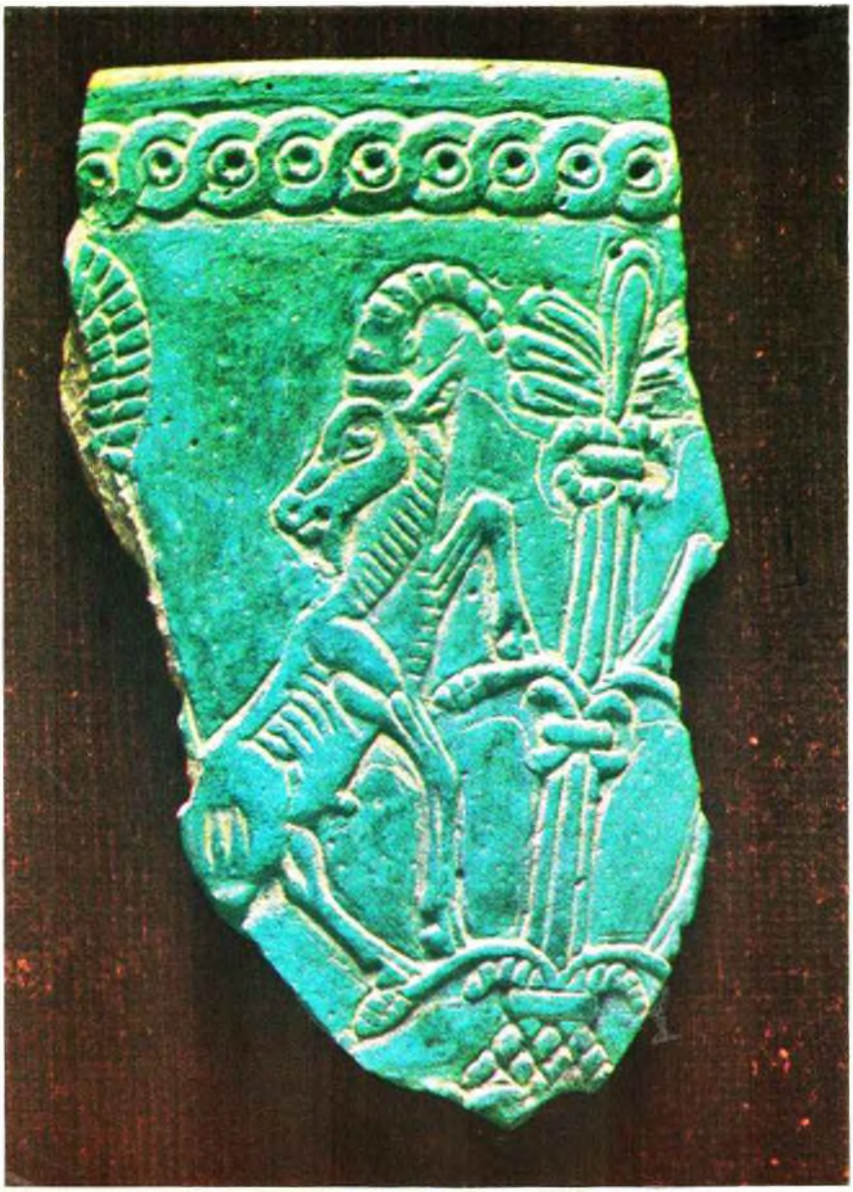


Plate 33 – Fragment from Hasanlu of a blue vessel made of a material resembling glass, showing two ibexes flanking a palmette-tree. 9th century B.C. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height 8 cm, diameter 9 cm. Cf. pp. 118, 128, 139.*

X. THE TREASURE OF ZIWIYE

PLATE 34 ABOVE

The citadel

PLATE 34 BELOW

More than a decade ago, in 1947, a treasure of gold, silver and ivory was found by a shepherd boy on the side of a mountain above the small and isolated village of Ziwiye. Ziwiye lies about 25 miles east of Saqqiz, the second largest town of Kurdistan.[1] The treasure seems to have been buried below the walls of a citadel, the remains of which can be discerned in the trenches dug by commercial diggers at the site. The citadel was 'perched on the crest of the hill and defended by mud-brick walls towering above the naturally steep ascent. The structure itself appears to have been stepped in at least three stages: a lower rather triangular area at one end, a second level higher up, and a much smaller and very high third level. The latter was strewn with the fragments of large jars indicating some sort of storage area.'[2] The walls of the citadel were constructed of large bricks (34 × 34 × 9 cm) and were at least 7.5 metres thick in some places. The principal building appears to have had some of the features of a palace, such as a portico from which three large limestone bases for wooden columns are preserved, or tiles glazed blue, white or yellow, reminiscent of the decoration in Elamite palaces at Susa and Assyrian palaces at Ashur and Nineveh.

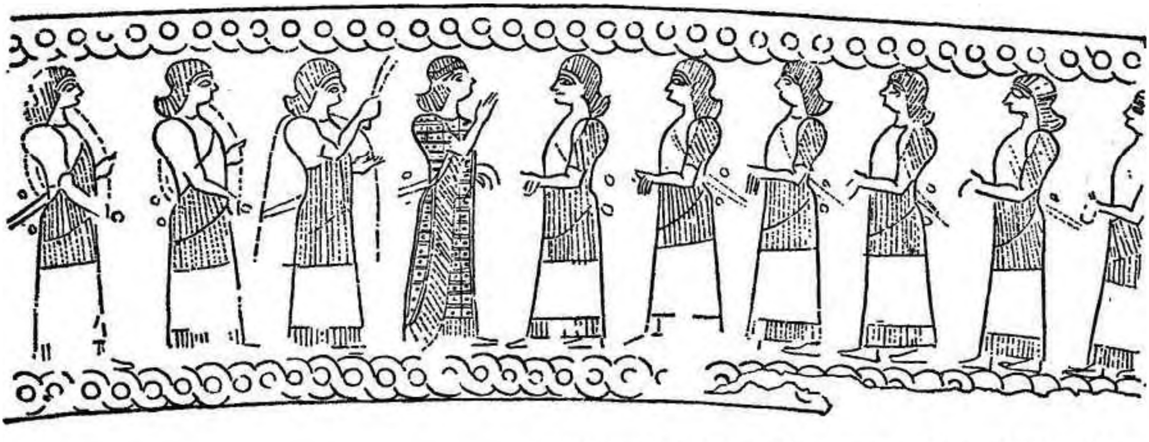
Historical conjectures

The fortress may have been built by the Manneans, who maintained themselves in this part of north-western Iran with relative political independence at least until the middle of the seventh century B.C. It is also possible, however, that the high point was fortified by the Assyrians, who were usually allied with the Manneans. The Assyrians were efficient military architects, but if they built the fortress they certainly did not leave any pottery there. The pottery which can be found on the site is predominantly the Late Buff ware associated by Cuyler Young with the spread of Median power.

The identity of the group which finally destroyed this mountain retreat is unknown, but we may try to make some guesses. Although the Assyrians seem to have had a sportsmanlike enthusiasm for climbing up to the mountain retreats of their opponents and capturing them,[3] more probable candidates for the role of destroyers of this remote site in Mannean territory are the Scythians. The latter were marauding Indo-European tribesmen whose activity in history seems to have been limited to large-scale pillaging in Western Asia, from Iran to the Mediterranean coast.

Scythians and Medes

The Assyrian king Esharhaddon (680–669 B.C.) gave one of his daughters in marriage to the son of the Scythian leader Bartatua. This seems to have kept the Scythians on the side of the Assyrians for several decades, until a year before the fall of the Assyrian capital, Nineveh, in 612 B.C. Before or after that event the Scythians for some time controlled the Medes, another Indo-European group which had moved from eastern to western Iran between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, roughly between the thirteenth and ninth centuries B.C.[4] In contrast to the Scythians, who had taken up an equestrian nomadic way of life, the Medes maintained a more settled, agricultural pattern of existence and were eventually able to achieve a political organization which made it possible for their kings to rule over most of Iran and large tracts of other parts of Western Asia that had formerly been part of the Assyrian empire. The Scythians appear never to have aimed for such an organization. It has even been suggested that their raids in Western Asia were conducted as part of their social pattern, not only for plunder, land and power but



FIGS. 68 and 69 – *Details of the engraving on the rim of the trough from*

also for trophies, for which there were ritually regulated rewards that in turn determined the position of the individual in the community.[5]

Destruction of the citadel of Ziwiye by a group of such marauding Scythian warriors, who lacked the discipline and organization of the Assyrian army to transport back to the homeland a treasure found in the fortress, would fit quite well the limited evidence at our disposition. The fact that some of the ivories were partly burnt (for example, the figurine reproduced in Plate 35, which is burnt at the back) remains a mystery, because so far no trace of a fire has been discovered at the site.[6]

PLATE 35

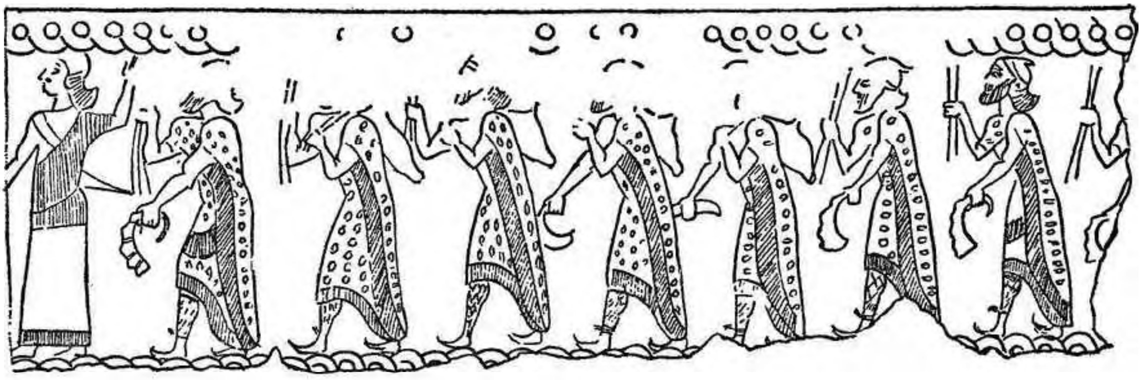
ASSYRIANIZING STYLE: *The trough of the treasure* FIGS. 68, 69

The treasure was contained in a large trough or tub, the flat rim of which is engraved with the figures of Assyrian officers and Iranian tributaries. On the sides of the trough were vertical strips of bronze showing gazelles and rosettes. Two troughs with similarly decorated vertical strips were used for burial in a Neo-Babylonian tomb at Ur, while another of the same shape but with undecorated strips was found at Zincirli in northern Syria (Turkey), used in a building interpreted as a bath-house.[7] Such troughs could therefore be used for various purposes, and the fact that there is no coffin known from Western Asia with such factual secular representations as those on the rim of the Ziwiye trough makes one think that the vessel would have been better suited for holding tribute rather than a corpse.

FIG. 69

The tributaries engraved on the rim of the vessel wear long spotted garments with a fringed border and on their heads peaked caps, the point of which falls backwards. Their legs are covered with what may be woollen stockings, and their shoes have slightly upturned toes. Minor differences in the attire of these figures probably indicate that different peoples are represented here, but one can only guess at their identity: Medes, Scythians, but also other peoples may be shown. Most of the men carry an ibex horn, but two bring models of towns[8] such as those seen on some Assyrian reliefs and known from actual examples in bronze found at the Urartian site of Van. One man in the procession carries a large vessel reminiscent in its proportions of the gold bowl from Hasanlu. Such an object would certainly have been accepted as tribute, but one wonders

PLATES 23, 24



Ziwiye. Late 8th century B.C. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

whether the same would have been true of ibex horns, unless they were horn-shaped rhyta made of precious metal. If this was not the case, one can only suggest that the horns may have been tribal symbols and were brought as signs of submission, like the models of towns.

The principal person among the Assyrians pictured on the rim is differentiated by the pattern of his robe from the officers who surround him in plain fringed garments. As simplified in the present rendering, the pattern consists of squares, each with a dot in the centre. In reality, these squares may have contained more elaborate designs, such as a rosette or even towers, as in a robe of Sargon II.[9] A comparison with renderings on Assyrian reliefs of a pattern of dotted squares and of the hair style of the Assyrians on the trough — which shows a solid mop of curls projecting obliquely at the back — yields a date in or shortly after the time of the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser III (745–727 B.C.) as the most likely time at which the vessel could have been made. FIG. 68

The Assyrian dignitary in the engraving on the trough seems also to have been represented in an ivory statuette from Ziwiye mentioned above. Although one must always stress that objects said to come from Ziwiye cannot be *proved* actually to have been found there, the likelihood is very great that the figurine and the plaques to be discussed below were obtained from that site. *Ivory statuette* PLATE 35

The first impression created by the figurine is that of a man standing humbly before his lord. This impression, so subtly produced by the slight forward inclination of the neck, indicates the hand of a master carver. Artistry of a high order is equally obvious in the clear definition of the planes in the face, the strong assured lines of the eyelids and mouth, and the extraordinarily sensitive, slight modelling of the shoulders. The long undulating fringe of the garment has a soft living quality. The feet have only as much naturalistic detail as is necessary to stress contrast with the stiff cylindrical skirt and thereby to create some interest for the viewer in the lower part of the figure. Of course these effects are apprehended only after an analysis of the figure; the artist who created the little sculpture surely did so without much conscious deliberation.

The statuette shows how the long-fringed shawl was wrapped over the shirt to

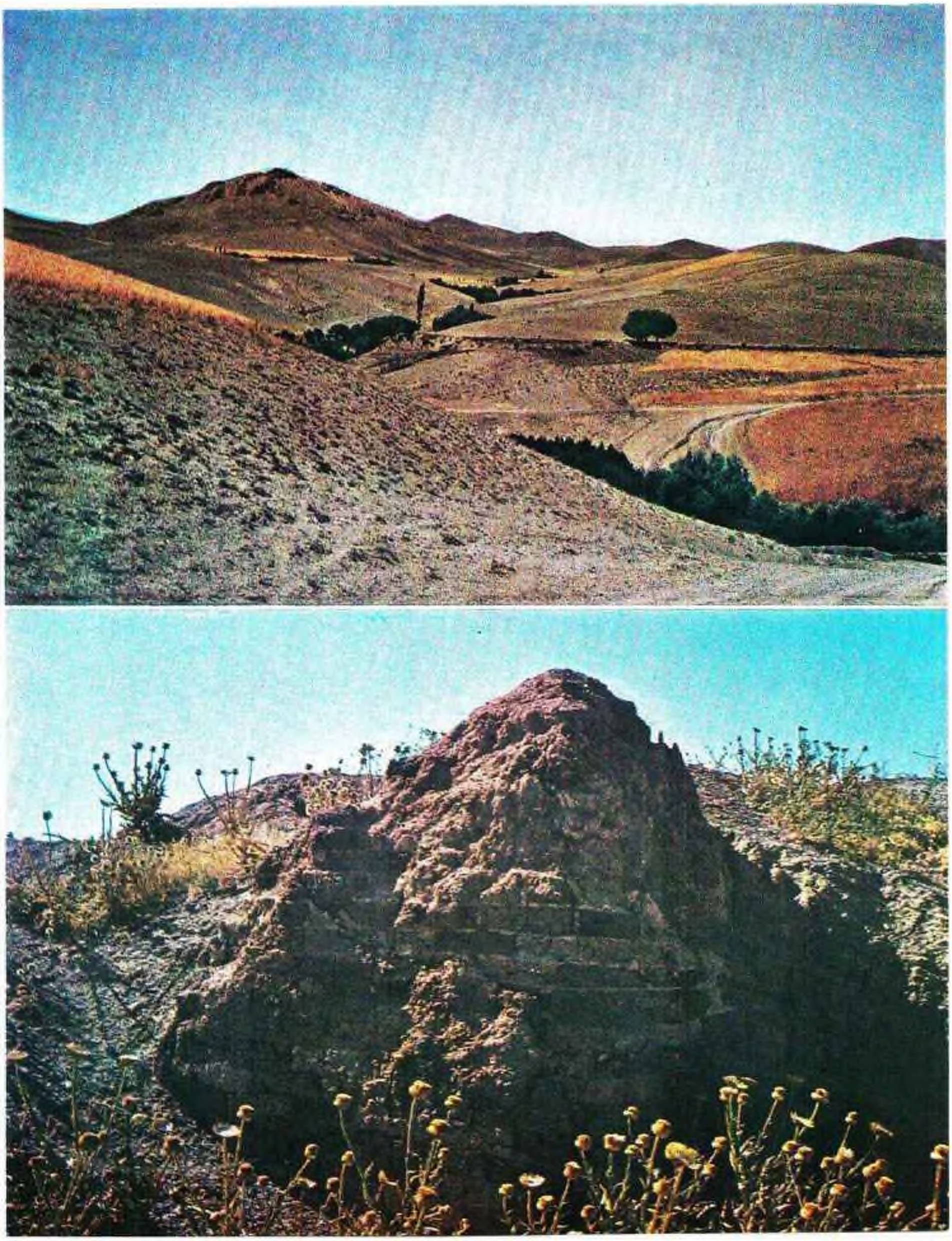
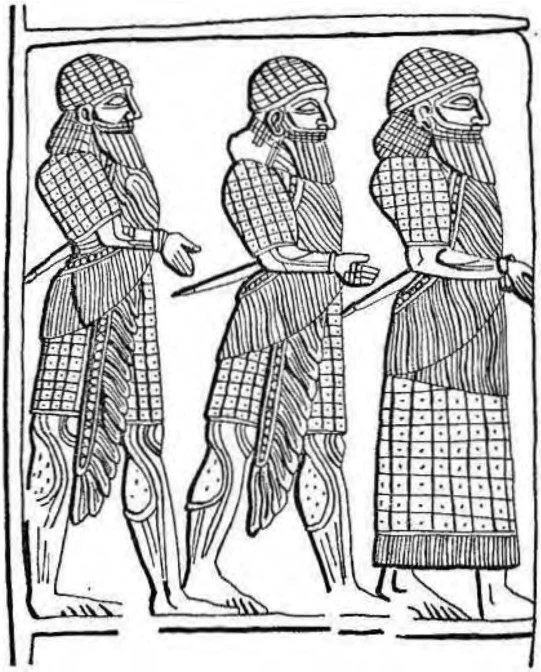


PLATE 34 – Above: view of the steep hill of Ziwiye from the valley. Below: masonry uncovered on the hill of Ziwiye. *Cf. p. 123.*

FIG. 70 – *Detail of ivory plaque from Ziwiye. Middle field: dignitary and officers. Late 8th-7th century B.C.*



form the fringed garment known from the Assyrian reliefs. The only un-Assyrian features are the receding forehead, the originally strongly projecting nose, and the exaggerated wavy, perhaps crinkly hair. These features probably characterized a person not of Assyrian stock, but obviously the man here portrayed nevertheless became a high Assyrian dignitary.

The purpose of the figure, rendered with its hands folded in a gesture of reverence toward king or god, cannot be determined, since the comparative material of unpublished fragments of other statues from Ziwiye in the Teheran Museum and one fragment from Zincirli[10] do not give any more indication than does the present example whether all of them were single figures or part of the decoration of some object. It can be stated with certainty only that our figure was free-standing and did not support anything on its head.

Our Assyrian dignitary, with the same gesture of folded hands, is seen again on one of the numerous ivory plaques found at Ziwiye. Wearing his long robe, he precedes two officers in kilts on his way, one would surmise, to attend a ceremony. Above and below this scene are panels showing contests between a hero and an animal. In contrast to the factual rendering of the figures in the central panel, those of the animal contests derive from the world of legend or mythology. The heroic deeds of a man of limitless courage and superhuman power seem to be illustrated, especially by the upper panel, in which the hero pushes a small hand-shield (resembling modern brass knuckles) between the open jaws of the lion and is about to run a spear into the animal's breast.

FIG. 70
Ivory plaques

FIG. 71

The position of the lion's forelegs, one stretched forward and the other backward, was surely meant to show the threateningly raised claws of the beast. A

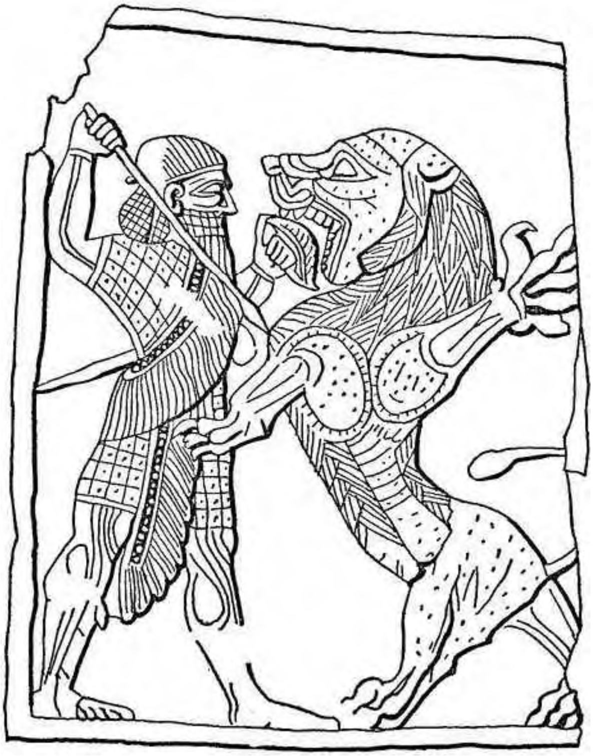


FIG. 71 – *Detail of the same ivory plaque as in Figure 70. Hero and lion in combat.*

comparison of this scene with the same motif in a garment pattern on a relief of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.)[11] shows that in the plaque of Ziwiye the proportions differ: the lion is larger, especially his head, and the hero's shield is smaller; therefore the hero seems more endangered here than in the Assyrian rendering. The scene has thereby become more dramatic and arouses the interest of the viewer by its content rather than by highly finished and balanced forms. Such qualities characterize provincial art of many periods and countries and suggest that this group of plaques was not made in one of the large Assyrian towns but perhaps in a Mannean centre under Assyrian influence. One would assume that the date of the plaques corresponds to that of the ivory figurine and of the trough, but one must admit that the hair style is less distinctive of Tiglathpileser III (745–727 B.C.) and occasionally seems to render the mop of curls resting on the shoulder which came into use in the time of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), the successor of Tiglathpileser.

FIG. 72 Most of the ivory plaques of Assyrianizing style from Ziwiye show a palmette-tree alone or horned animals or sphinxes flanking such a tree. One of the finest has goats with a tree design composed of palmettes of doubly or triply interlaced tendrils with blossoms, found on reliefs and cylinder seals of the time of Sargon II.[12]

PLATE 33 Comparison of the plaque with a fragment of a vessel from Hasanlu shows that the goat rendered in the latter fragment is livelier, has a more slender body, and places its feet on a simpler tree design. The ivory plaque from Ziwiye is more richly decorated but stiffer and obviously later in date.

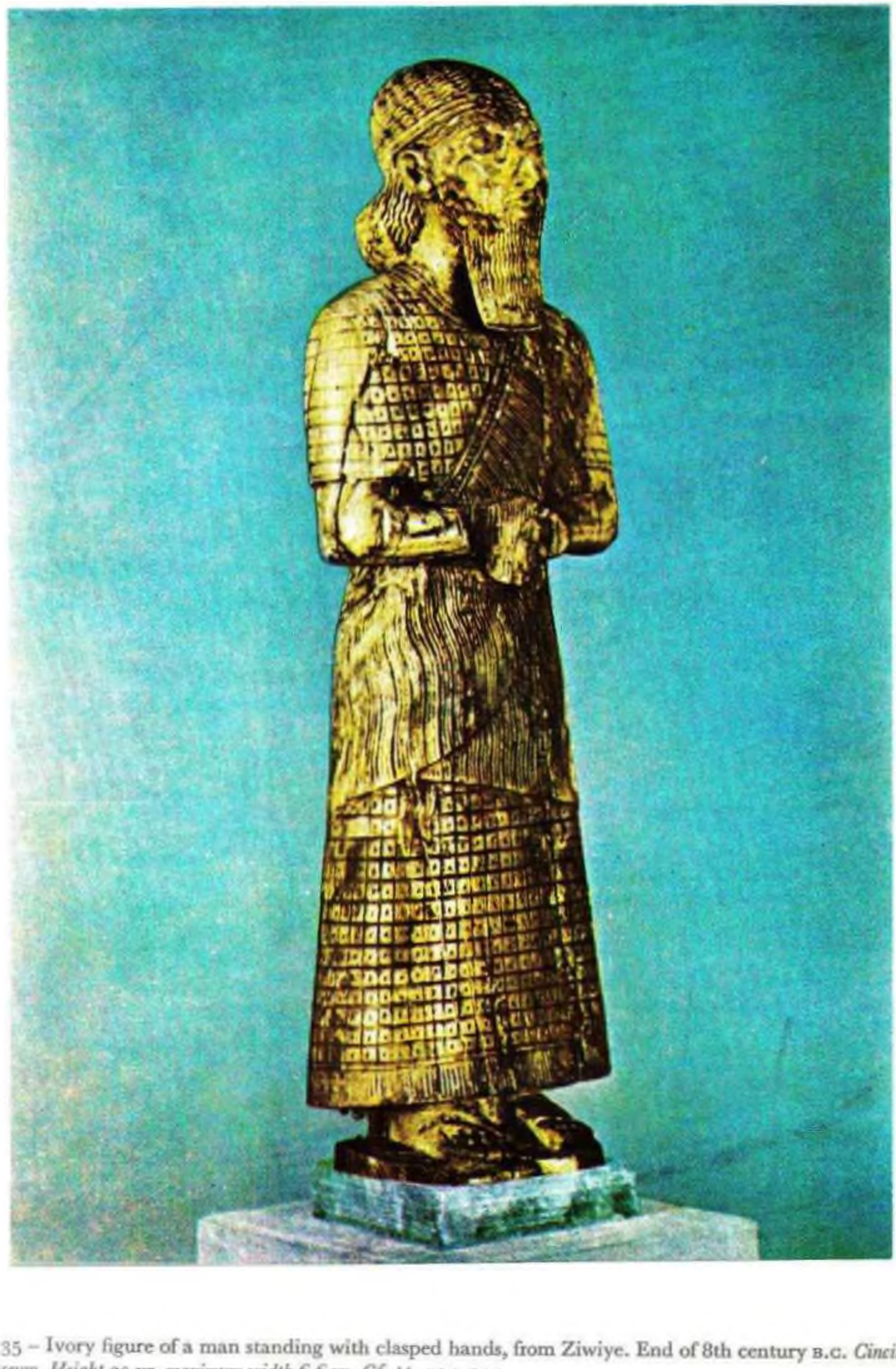


PLATE 35 – Ivory figure of a man standing with clasped hands, from Ziwiye. End of 8th century B.C. *Cincinnati Art Museum. Height 20 cm, maximum width 6.6 cm. Cf. pp. 124, 125.*

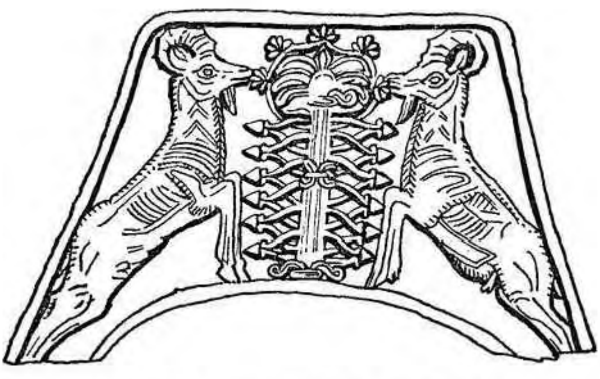


FIG. 72 – *Ivory plaque from Ziwiye with wo ibexes flanking a sacred tree. Late 8th-7th century B.C. W. Abegg Collection, Berne.*

LOCAL STYLE

Transformation of Assyrian motifs into a local stylistic idiom can be noted in a few places, not illustrated here, in which the human figures resemble those of the beaker of Hasanlu and of some ivory fragments found at that site.[13] Characteristic of the figures are their angular movements and the facial type with prominent straight noses, thin lips and straggly beards.

Glazed earthenware vessel

PLATE 36

A parallel to this local style in ivory-carving may be a local style in painting glazed earthenware vessels, several examples of which are said to have been found at Ziwiye, where potsherds of such vessels were actually picked up.[14] The bull of the vessel in Plate 36, for example, has an un-Assyrian collar and kneels before a plant which does not look like any tree known from Assyrian art. Vessels of this type but with more conventionally Assyrian designs were found in Ashur in private houses and in graves. The approximate date of this ware suggested by the evidence from Ashur is the eighth or seventh century B.C.[15] The evidence from Ziwiye indicates that at about the same time a local ware of related type was produced in north-western Iran. Where the fashion started, however, cannot be determined. The wreath of lotus-petals on the shoulders of these vessels reminds one of a similar decoration seen in more delicate execution on Egyptian vessels.[16] Such Egyptianizing features, however, need not have come directly from Egypt but were probably disseminated by Phoenician and Syrian craftsmen and their products.

SYRO-PHOENICIAN STYLE

Gold pectoral

PLATE 37

Influence of such craftsmen from the West may also be noted in some of the gold work said to have been part of the treasure of Ziwiye. Our first example is a crescent-shaped pectoral originally worn on a chain around the neck.[17] The representation on the pectoral is divided into two registers, each with a tree in the middle, flanked in the upper register by ibexes and in the lower by winged bulls. Monsters approach from either side. In the upper register there is on either side a sphinx, an Assyrian winged human-headed bull with a horned feather-crown, and an equally Assyrian lion-headed griffin. In the middle of our plate is the small fragment on which a larger and a smaller animal are embossed, the larger one in particular rendered in a style which is considered typically Scythian. Distinctively Scythian features are the heart-shaped ear, the circular eye, the upcurving lips and the abstract body markings. The heart-shaped

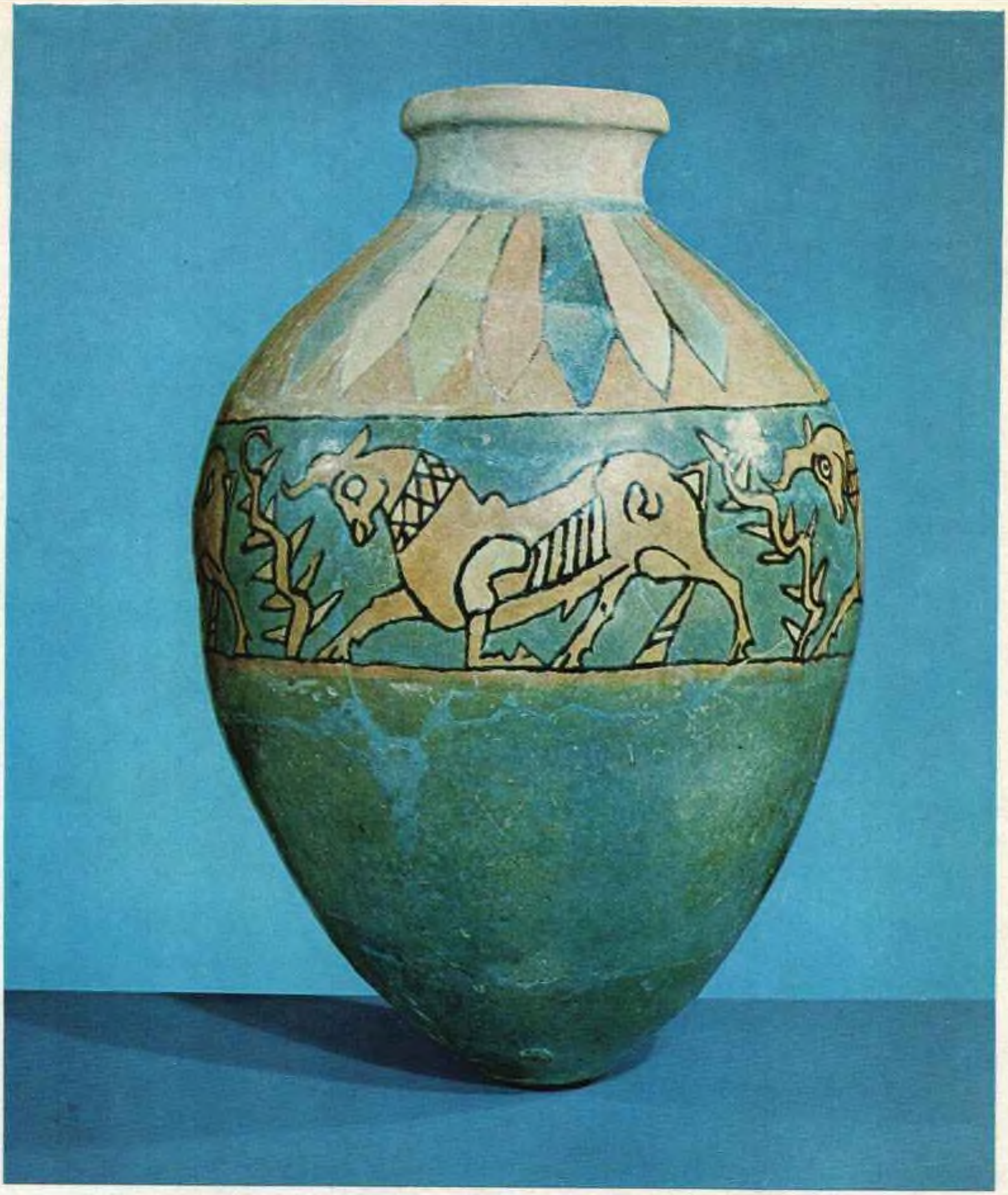


PLATE 36 – Painted and glazed earthenware vase from Ziwiye. 8th-7th century B.C. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Height 43.5 cm, diameter of mouth 11 cm. Cf.p. 130.*

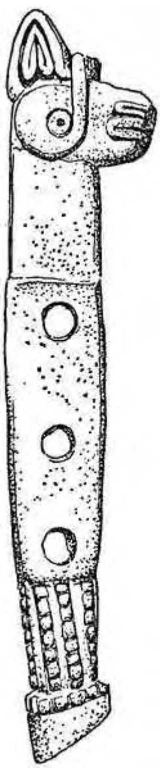


FIG. 73 – *Psalia of bone, said to have been found a tZiwiye. 7th century B.C. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

FIG. 73 ear is also seen on a horse's cheek-piece of bone, of Scythian style, said to have been found in Ziwiye.

PLATE 37 Among the monsters following on either side behind the winged bulls of Assyrian type in the lower register of the pectoral is a bull-man with hands raised as if to support a winged sun-disk, a very common posture for bull-men in Assyrian cylinder and stamp seals of the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C.[18] Behind the bull-man comes a griffin, followed by a ram-headed winged lion and a sphinx sitting on its haunches.

The ram-headed winged lion is repeatedly found in ivories of northern Syria and Phoenicia.[19] The same is true of the apron which hangs between the forelegs of most of the monsters on the pectoral and which developed at an earlier time from the lengthened mane of Egyptian lions.[20] In an object related to the pectoral another very distinctive northern Syrian feature was noted—the bird-headed tip of the griffin tail.[21] On such minute observations as are enumerated here must be based statements concerning the influence of the art of one region on the products of another.

SCYTHIAN ELEMENTS

One wonders about the addition of the Scythian animals to the pectoral with predominantly Assyrian and Syrian monsters. Certainly, the crouching bodies of these Scythian animals fitted easily into the available space at the end of the register, but was this the only reason for their addition? Or were these animals, with what we recognize as stylistic characteristics of Scythian animals in general, thought by the makers of the pectoral (and of other related objects) to be distinctive features of a new type of monster which had its own and perhaps quite specific meaning? Unfortunately such questions may never be answered.

Urartian tradition

Finally we turn to the tree designs of the pectoral. These are un-Assyrian in that they are composed of ribbons in place of a stem and that the place of palmettes is taken by blossoms and buds in which rimmed round forms predominate; lastly, the tree seems to grow from a knoll. Such tree designs have been associated with Urartian style, and the gold work of Ziwiye has been regarded as having been made in the Urartian tradition of metal-working.[22] That local tradition played a greater role in the Ziwiye gold work than was formerly assumed is, however, indicated by the shape of one of these objects, which turned out to be an epaulette, so far unknown elsewhere.[23]

Possible links with Marlik

Moreover, it is not impossible that a tradition existed which linked the gold work of Marlik, however slightly, to that of Ziwiye. Though no thorough study of such a tradition has been possible as yet, owing to insufficient publication of the material from Marlik, two small details may be mentioned here. Both details are found in representations of griffins, one on a gold bowl from Marlik,[24]

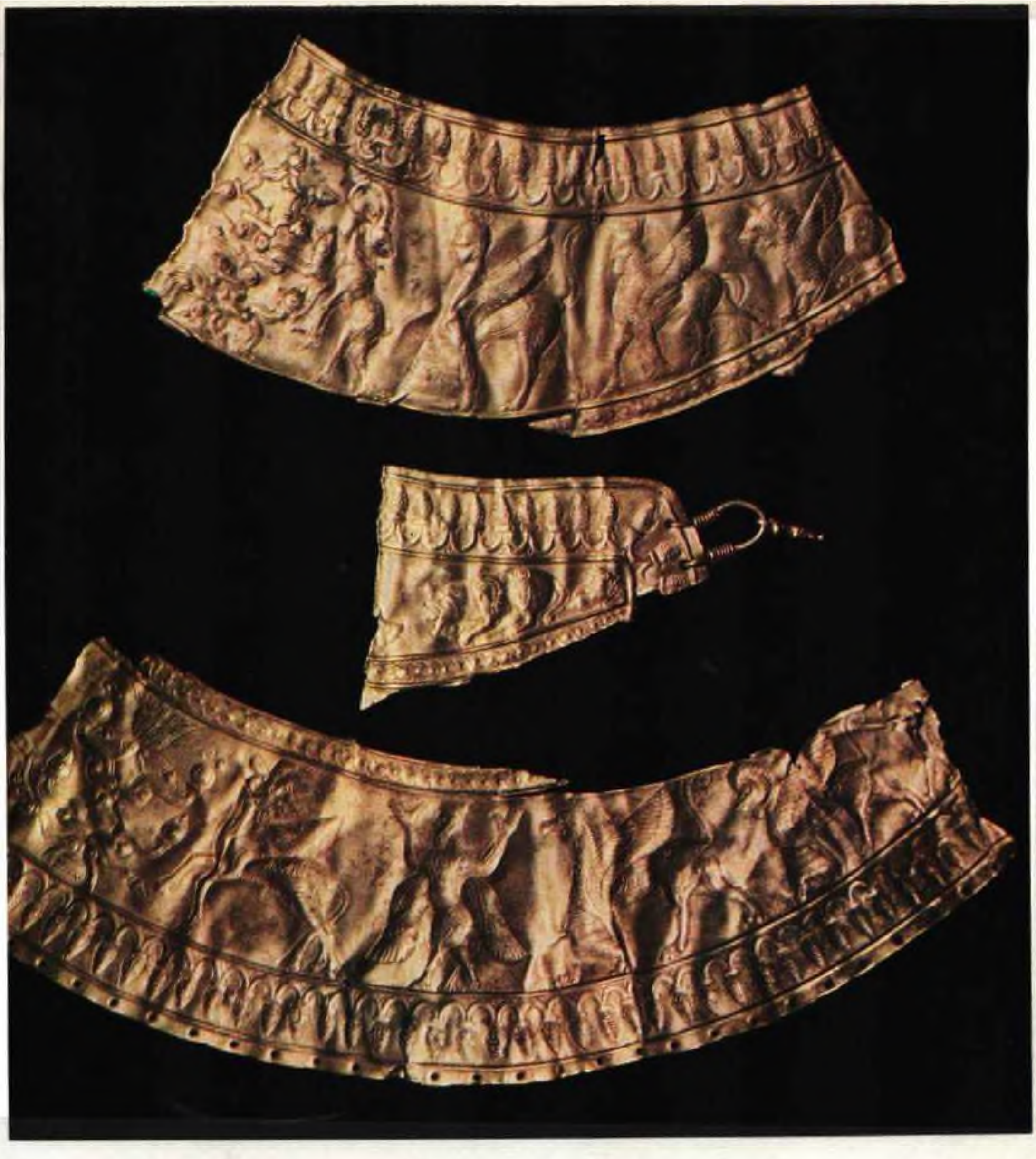


PLATE 37 – Golden pectoral from Ziwiye. Late 8th-7th century B.C. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Entire width of reconstructed pectoral 36 cm. Cf. pp. 120, 130, 132, 134, 139.*

PLATE 37

Griffin heads
PLATE 38 ABOVE

another on the pectoral reproduced in Plate 37. The Marlik griffin has a small curl at the inception of his crest; such a curl also appears on the crest of the griffin in the pectoral, but pointing in the opposite direction. Furthermore, the griffin of the same Marlik bowl has rows of small bead-like teeth lining his beak, as have the gold griffin heads from Ziwiye worked in the round, one of which is reproduced here. As in all griffins, the eagle's head was combined with the body of a lion, here indicated only by the forepaws of the beast. The griffin foreparts formed a set with those of two lions, all of them thought to have once belonged to a cauldron, though this is merely a guess based on analogy with Greek cauldrons.[25] Some relations seem to have existed between Greek and Near Eastern griffins of the seventh century B.C. The direction in which the griffin's features travelled, however, is still the subject of sharp controversies among scholars.[26]

Bracelet with lions
PLATE 39

The last gold object from Ziwiye to be discussed here is the bracelet with lions in the collection of A. B. Martin.[27] Two pairs of small lions, probably meant to represent young animals, face each other in the middle of the bracelet, while the ends are formed of the heads of adult lions, one of which could be removed to facilitate putting the bracelet on.

The gable-shaped foreheads and semi-globular bumps on the ears of the little lions resemble those of Neo-Hittite stone sculptures in such south-eastern Anatolian or northern Syrian sites as Zincirli.[28] The closest relationship, however, seems to exist with a bronze lion head from a cauldron found in the Urartian fortress of Karmir Blur and inscribed with the name of the Urartian king Sardur II (764–735 B.C.).[29] The head from Karmir Blur, however, has none of the stylization of folds into slanting planes, forming sharp arrises, which characterize the animals and even determine the shape of the hoop of the golden bracelet.

PLATE 37

PLATE 38 BELOW

Such sharp lines and smooth planes probably pleased the ancient wearers and viewers as much as they attract modern visitors in museums. In fact the full effect of shining glistening gold had never been fully realized in earlier techniques of gold-working. A comparison of the ribbons in the tree design of the pectoral with those of the fragment in the University Museum in Philadelphia shows how much more strikingly the quality of the gold is stressed by the new technique. Even if this technique was really derived from work in wood or bone,[30] its effectiveness in gold would have assured its success with the gold-loving Scythians to whom it has been particularly ascribed.

It has been suggested that the 'mixture at Ziwiye and elsewhere of Urartian with occasional Scythian elements surely may be taken as typical of the Medes.'[31] It may be preferable, however, to reserve judgment on the label to be given to the Ziwiye treasure until more precise information is available about the date of the Ziwiye citadel and more is perhaps learnt about the earlier artistic activities of the Medes.

PLATE 38 – Above: griffin head from Ziwiye. 7th century B.C. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height 7 cm, width about 4.5 cm.* Below: fragment of gold repoussé work from Ziwiye. 9th century B.C. *University Museum, Philadelphia. Height 7 cm, width 5.7 cm. Cf. above.* →

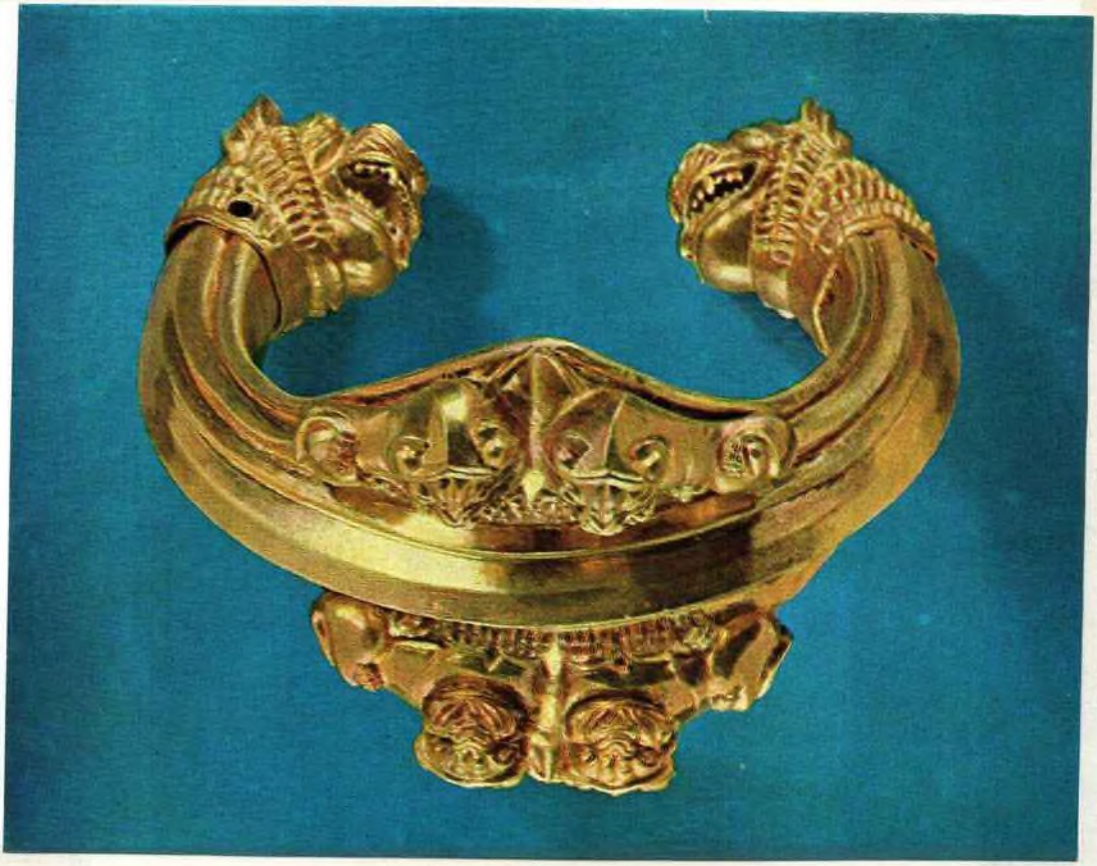


PLATE 39 – Bracelet with lion heads from Ziwiye. Late 8th-7th century B.C. *A. B. Martin, Guennol Collection, on loan at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Diameter 9 cm. Cf. p. 134.*

XI. THE ART OF THE MEDES

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

Medes and Persians appear in history in the latter part of the ninth century B.C. That is, their names are mentioned from that time onward in the military and administrative records of the Assyrian kings who campaigned in western Iran in order to safeguard the eastern frontiers of their empire and to keep open the roads on which trade and tribute brought horses, timber and metal from Iran to Assyria.

Medes

The penetration of western Iran by the Medes probably began much earlier, but the archaeological evidence on which the history of the region before written sources becomes available must be based is still incomplete.[1] Coming from the east, the Medes probably moved along the ancient high road which passed from Tepe Damghan through Saveh to Hamadan and Kermanshah. In view of the later location of the capital of the Medes at Hamadan-Ecbatana, we may conclude that they soon settled in the wide and fertile plain of Hamadan. From there they seem to have extended to the north and west. In the time of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) the Medes could be described as being located between the Manneans in the north and the Elamites in the south.[2]

Persians

The Persians, whom we must surely associate with the land Parsua referred to in Assyrian texts, present quite a problem because at different times Parsua is encountered in different localities. It was a loyal Assyrian province, probably located in what is today the Solduz region of Hasanlu, in the time of Sargon II. From the time of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) onward, a Parsua is mentioned in south-western Iran, north of Elam. Finally, in Achaemenid times, there was Parsa in the province which we call Fars today. The different locations of Parsua-Parsa have been thought to mark the progress of the Persians from north-western Iran to the south and further to the east. It has also been argued, however, that the three countries named Parsua may have been established at the same time by different groups of the same people.[3] Many facets of the problem of how and when Iran was transformed from a country dominated by so-called Asianic peoples — Hurrians, Manneans, perhaps also Elamites — into one ruled by Indo-Europeans, namely, Medes and Persians, thus still remain to be elucidated. In areas which were no longer effectively defended by Urartians, Manneans, Elamites or Assyrians, the Indo-Europeans probably established themselves by force and fairly rapidly. In regions in which the old ruling group still maintained its power, the newcomers probably sought employment ranging from agricultural work to military service. In the time of the Assyrian king Esharhaddon (680–669 B.C.) treaties concluded with the vassals of Iran, to assure the succession of Esharhaddon's son Ashurbanipal, give some information concerning Median tribes and their leaders.[4]

Destruction of Assyria

The treaties that bound the Iranian princes to the Assyrian throne by oaths and curses were written on clay tablets and deposited at Nimrud, the ancient Calah. In the destruction of the palace of Calah by the Medes in 612 B.C. these tablets were hauled into the throne-room, where they were smashed and burned. This was surely a symbolic act, destroying the bonds which had tied the Medes to Assyria. The victorious Median king was Cyaxares, who also took Nineveh together with Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon and possibly with the help of Scythian hordes. The twenty-eight-year rule of terror of the Scythians which Herodotus reported, during which the Urartian empire was eliminated, may have occurred only after the fall of Nineveh and may not have lasted the full length of the time reported by Herodotus.[5] Only when the Medes were free of Scythian interference could they take over the Assyrian and Urartian heritage.

Median empire

At its greatest extension the Median empire dominated western Iran and reached from the former Urartian and Mannean areas in north-western Iran over northern Mesopotamia to Asia Minor, where the river Halys formed the frontier between Medes and Lydians. This great empire, however, was of short duration: Cyaxares' son Astyages was vanquished in 550 B.C. by his own grandson Cyrus, king of the Persians, in a battle as a result of which Media and Persia were united and the foreign possessions of Media came under Persian suzerainty.

As yet it is impossible to give a survey of Median art because no unquestionably Median site has been excavated and no inscribed work of Median art has been found. Claims to the contrary about works of art of the seventh century, like those of Ziwiye,[6] are very stimulating but remain to be proved. Nevertheless,

Median art as intermediary

Median art must be mentioned here because it surely played an important role as an intermediary between the different art styles of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and the Persian style which prevailed during the dynasty of the Achaemenids in the late sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

Rock-cut tombs

A few rock-cut tombs situated in north-western Iran, in present-day Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, were considered Median by Herzfeld. None of these tombs, however, are dated with any certainty, and they may actually be of the Achaemenid period or even later. The most interesting of these tombs, called Qyzqapan,[7] located beyond the Iranian frontier in Iraqi Kurdistan, has a relief carved above the door which shows two men in Median costume. They stand on either side of a fire altar on which a flame seems to be rendered schematically by a semicircle. FIG. 74

The two men wear garments like those pictured as the apparel of Medes in the reliefs of the Achaemenid palaces at Persepolis: jacket, tight-fitting trousers, probably of leather, and a cap with shawl-like knotted ends. In addition, the figure at the left wears a coat, probably made of fur worn on the inside except for the revers; narrow empty sleeves hang down at the sides. Each man holds his bow with the left hand and sets it down on the tip of the forward foot. One is reminded here of the similar position of one of the figures on the gold bowl of Hasanlu. The position therefore suggests a tradition of what may have been ceremonial military poses from late second millennium Hasanlu to the Median tomb of the middle of the first millennium B.C.

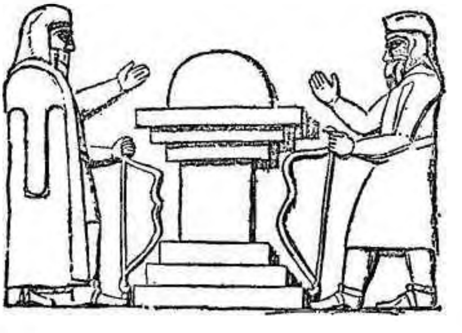
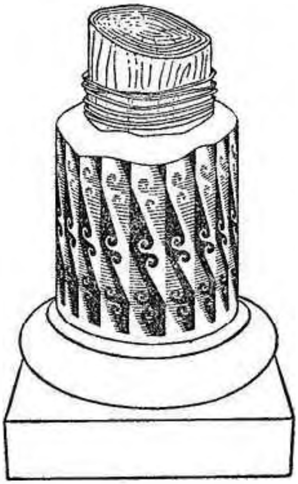


FIG. 74 – *Relief over the door of a rock-cut tomb at Qyzqapan. 4th century B.C. or earlier.*

FIG. 75 – *Wooden column covered with painted plaster from the Treasury of Persepolis.*



The approximate date of the tomb just mentioned is suggested by its architectural decoration. Deeply hewn into the rock is a portico which has columns with capitals resembling the Ionic in the volutes at the sides. The shape of these capitals and their palmette decoration suggest a date after the sixth century B.C. rather than an earlier date. While the tomb was probably made for a Mede, its date would thus fall in the time of the Achaemenid dynasty. Similarly, the rock-cut tomb of Da-u-Dukhtar has large close-set volutes reminiscent of Greek fifth-century capitals[8] and thereby also suggests an Achaemenid rather than an earlier date. Perhaps the fashion of having a rock-cut tomb, so common in Asia Minor toward the middle of the first millennium B.C., was introduced into Iran by King Darius I (522–486 B.C.), whom we may regard as a conscious innovator in matters pertaining to ritual and iconography (see below, p. 159).

Earlier Iranian columns

The use of columns as such is already documented in Iran in the ninth century B.C. by finds of stone base-slabs for columns in Hasanlu. The wooden shafts and capitals of these columns, however, are not preserved. Syrian, Assyrian and Babylonian renderings of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. show columns with volute capitals[9] according to which one may reconstruct those of the early Iranian columns also. Such a use of volute capitals would have prepared the way for the later acceptance in Iran of the Ionic capital. The latter would have seemed a refined and enriched development of earlier simpler types.

At what point in time and where the Achaemenid capitals of Pasargadae and Persepolis began to develop is unknown. Perhaps they had Median prototypes, but these remain to be discovered.

FIG. 75

Dynamic patterns

PLATE 33

PLATE 37

A very interesting feature in the decoration of column shafts at Persepolis leads us in another direction in our search for possible evidence of a Median style or Median styles which preceded the Achaemenid period. A type of column with a wooden core had a plaster covering upon which scroll and lozenge patterns were painted in red, blue and white. These patterns seem to run in a direction determined by oblique lines and are therefore basically different from the common patterns of the ancient Near East, which are axially symmetrical and therefore seem static. Even in the case of the twist or guilloche, well exemplified by the fragment from a vessel found in Hasanlu, the single scrolls have been adjusted to the circle so that again a static impression is conveyed by the pattern. Furthermore, the rhythm of ancient Near Eastern patterns is usually just a simple, regularly proportional alignment of forms, such as the pattern of linked cones on the gold pectoral from Ziwiye, not a relatively complicated rhythm, such as that on the column shafts, where scrolls are paired and then separated by bars of a length which would have seemed impossible to a traditional Near Eastern artist. Such a 'free' treatment of patterns points outside the frontiers of Western Asiatic conventions and perhaps to the more dynamic and freer ornamentation of Central Asia. Relations between the decoration of the column

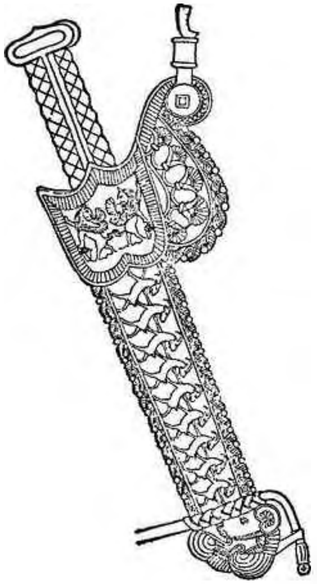


FIG. 76 – *Gold sword-scabbard of the bearer of Darius' royal arms in a relief of the Treasury at Persepolis.*

shafts from Persepolis and of shafts of arrows found in the third kurgan at Pazyryk, in southern Siberia, have indeed been pointed out and ascribed to Scythian influence.[10] It is not inconceivable, however, that the Medes also had some connection with the art forms of Central Asia, and that they had a taste for dynamic patterns and little concern about the preservation of conventional Western Asiatic forms.

The richly decorated weapons carried by Median dignitaries in the reliefs of Persepolis point in the same direction. The example illustrated (Fig. 76) is the scabbard of the Median armour-bearer of Darius I (522–486 B.C.) in the reliefs of the Treasury. In turn this scabbard corresponds in its shape to one in the Oxus Treasure for which Median origin seems quite likely and to others which have been associated with it.[11]

In the scabbard of Darius' attendant monsters, animals and palmettes are grouped antithetically or are aligned in rows to form different ornaments. Two lion-griffins back to back, their heads turned backwards in a heraldic pose, called regardant, fill the escutcheon-shaped field which covers the quillons of the short sword in the scabbard. At right angles to the griffins a row of slender rampant goats, regardant, runs down the length of the scabbard, diminishing slightly in size toward the bottom, a feature unparalleled in truly Western Asiatic designs. The trefoil of the chape at the end of the scabbard is decorated with a linear ornament formed by a dog-like animal in a folded pose with naturalistically rendered head and palmette-shaped ear. Chapes with closely related designs but made of bone have been found in Syria.[12] Such animals in folded poses are characteristic of Scythian gold work from southern Russia. Another Scythian element in the scabbard is the spiral border which runs around most of the edge and which may be derived from the heads of birds of prey with prominent hooked beaks, the so-called beak-heads of the Scythian repertory.[13]

Just as the Medes probably handed down to the Persians the elements of Scythian art which they had absorbed or obtained independently through eastern connections, so they must also have been the middlemen for the continuation in Achaemenid art of other stylistic traditions which prevailed in Iran in Median times. A fine gold bowl in the Cincinnati Art Museum, for example, which Helene Kantor convincingly interpreted as showing Median workmanship,[14] is reminiscent both of features found in the Ziwiye Treasure and of later Achaemenid gold and silver vessels. Thus the pointed leaves of the palmettes on the gold bowl in Cincinnati resemble the palmettes of Ziwiye, while the double-headed ibexes of the Cincinnati bowl resemble in their posture those of ibexes on an Achaemenid silver vase reproduced below. PLATE 49 For the severe stylization in the rendering of the animals of the Cincinnati bowl, whose hair on the neck and back is indicated by regular rounded ridges, no parallel has been found as yet in objects excavated at known sites. Doubts have therefore been voiced concerning the genuineness of this and related pieces. It seems quite possible, however, to see in such sharply delineated designs an expression of a Median style descended from the more rounded lines of Urartian designs. It would merely be one of several Median styles, since there were probably at least as many styles represented in the Median capital at Ecbatana-Hamadan as there had been at Ziwiye. Such styles would have corresponded to the varying traditions and craftsmanship of the goldsmiths and ivory-workers, and to the different tastes of their patrons.

XII. THE ART OF THE ACHAEMENIDS

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Under the dynasty of the Achaemenid rulers the Persian empire comprised Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor with its Greek towns and some islands, Thrace — and parts of India.[1] The founder of this, the largest empire of the ancient world, was Cyrus, often called the Great (559–530 B.C.), whose Persian father, Cambyses, king of Anshan,[2] had married the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. Cyrus defeated his grandfather about 550 B.C. and succeeded in welding Persians and Medes into an effective army with which he could undertake conquests beyond the frontiers of Iran.

Cyrus

In world history Cyrus is known as much for his victory over Croesus of Lydia (547 B.C.) as for his generosity toward the Jews, to whom he reputedly granted permission to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem and bring back to it the gold and silver utensils which Nebuchadnezzar had taken to Babylon.

Similar restoration of local cults proceeded under his auspices throughout Mesopotamia. This political acumen in dealing with conquered peoples helped Cyrus in his political and military conquest of the wealthy Greek towns that were formerly under Croesus' suzerainty. Only Miletus submitted voluntarily. The others were conquered one after the other, some by military force, others by treachery, for Persian gold was as powerful as Persian arms. Syria and Phoenicia fell to Cyrus by his easy conquest of Babylon in 539 B.C.

In north-eastern Iran Cyrus had to secure the frontiers against the ever-present pressure of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes from Central Asia. In battles against these peoples the great king died in 530 B.C.

Darius I

His son Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. Only Darius I (522–486 B.C.), however, who also deserved the epithet Great, consolidated the empire by an efficient administrative organization. Within little more than a year after the death of Cambyses he had succeeded in establishing his rule over the rebellious leaders of the Medes, Babylonians and other peoples whom Cyrus had conquered. The pictorial and written memorial of his victory was carved upon the steep cliff at Bisutun which looks down upon the road that leads even today from the Iranian plateau to the Mesopotamian plain. The actual height of the relief is eighteen feet, about as large as any ancient Western Asiatic stone-carver — used to relatively small reliefs — could possibly conceive. But as seen from the road, the relief seems quite small. FIG. 77

The inscription was rendered in Old Persian, Akkadian (the language of the Babylonians) and Elamite. Above the inscription Darius is portrayed in the traditional posture of the victor, his foot placed on his fallen enemy, Gaumata the Magian. Here the posture may have been copied from the ancient relief of FIG. 15

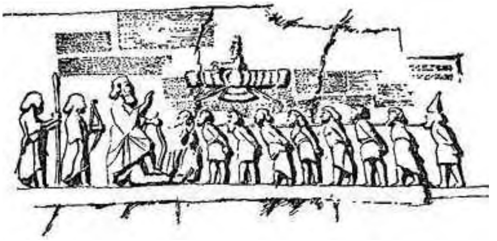


FIG. 77 – *The rock relief of Bisutun.*

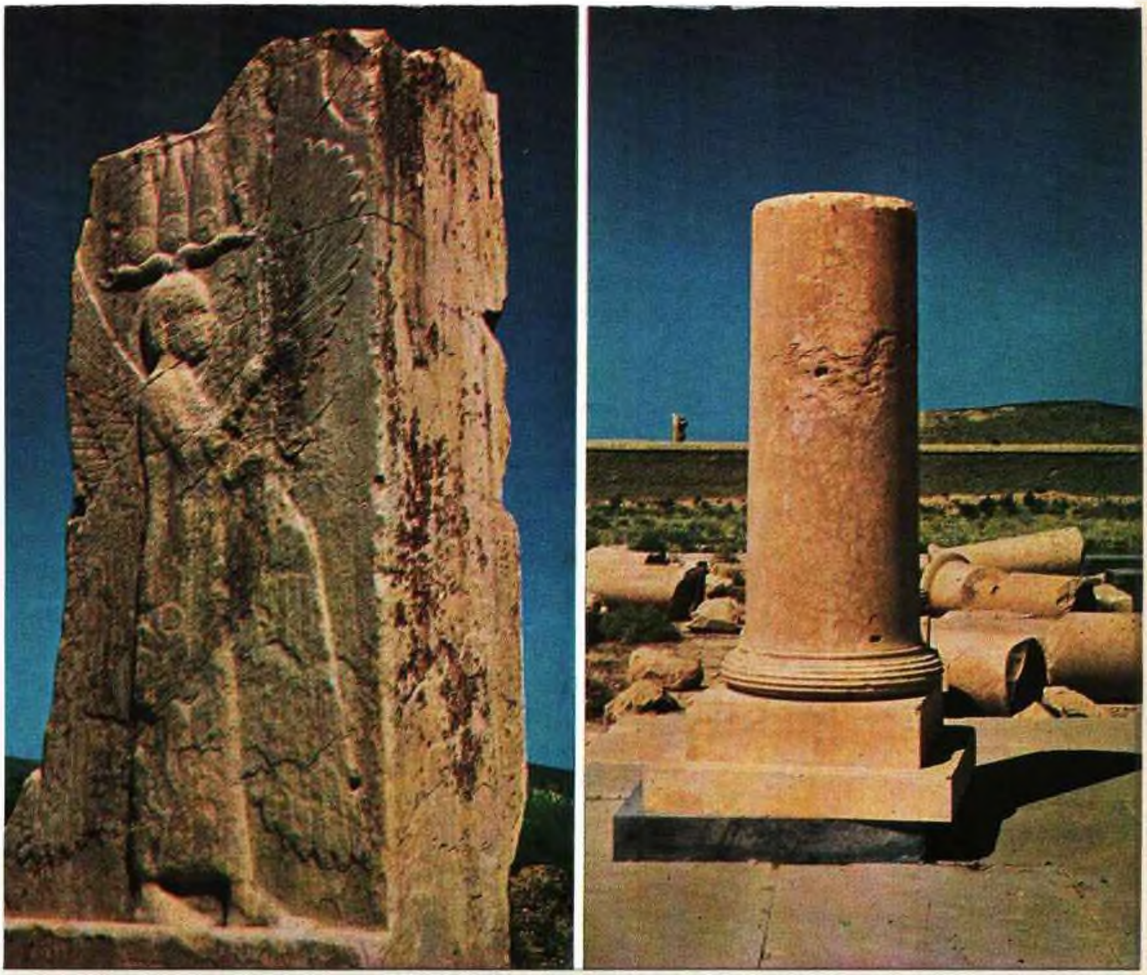


PLATE 40 – Left: four-winged genius on a jamb of the gate structure at Pasargadae. Reign of Cyrus (559-530 B.C.). White limestone. *Height of figure 2.90 m.* Right: column base and shaft from the hall of the 'residential palace' of Cyrus. Reign of Cyrus (559-530 B.C.). Grey and white limestone. *Measurements of the lower, grey square block: length of each side 79 cm; height 34 cm, of which 14 cm are sunk into the stone tiles of the floor. Cf. pp. 144, 145, 158.*

Anubanini at Sar-i Pul, not too far distant from Bisutun. In the relief of Bisutun eight of the rebels stand behind Gaumata with their necks joined by a rope and their hands tied behind their backs. A ninth rebel was added after Darius' victory over the pointed-capped Scythians. Darius could truly call himself 'Great King', 'King of Kings', titles subsequently associated with the Achaemenids and assumed only by the most powerful rulers of later times.

The armies of Darius sustained reverses only in Scythia and, in Greece, at Marathon (490 B.C.). The epic resistance of small, disunited Greece against the most powerful empire of its day had begun. In the time of Alexander resistance became aggression, finally ending in victory over the last Achaemenid king, Darius III.

Greek writers who reported on Persia knew of the first residence of Cyrus at Pasargadae, of Susa as the principal seat of subsequent Achaemenid rulers, and also of royal residences at Ecbatana and Babylon. None, however, spoke of Persepolis, founded by Darius near Pasargadae, deep inside the empire. This may have been due to the character of the site, which appears to have been not an administrative centre but rather a religious one, where the Achaemenid kings went for ceremonies of inauguration at nearby Pasargadae, where their bodies were brought for burial in the rock-chambers of the valley of Naqsh-i Rustem near Persepolis or later in the cliffs around the Persepolis Terrace — and where the New Year's festival, the greatest religious event of Iran, was probably celebrated every year.[3]

Significance of Persepolis

We may assume that the delegations of all the countries of the empire came to this festival bringing to the King of Kings their 'gifts', which were probably stored in the local treasuries. The geographical position of Persepolis in the centre of the country would have added to the safety of these treasuries and of the armouries connected with them. The stress on quarters for the military at Persepolis, which became obvious from Godard's excavations, indicates extensive preoccupation with the security of the buildings on the terrace.[4]

Pasargadae

Pasargadae, the residence of Cyrus the Great, some 43 kilometres by air from Persepolis, probably also had as one of its principal functions the safeguarding of the king's treasures. There was a well-defended citadel there, covering a huge area of about two hundred metres in length and up to one hundred and thirty metres in width. In addition, a small enclosed valley immediately to the north of the citadel platform was 'guarded by a continuous mud-brick fortification wall with square towers at regular intervals'. Schmidt suggested many years ago that the treasury should be sought in this fortified area. Excavations at present under way in Pasargadae may eventually provide information on that point.[5]

From the citadel a road led toward the south to the walled palace area. The first important building encountered in this area — and enclosed within its own precinct — was a stone tower which will be discussed below in connection with a similar tower at Naqsh-i Rustem. The principal remains of the palace area belonged to three buildings interpreted by Herzfeld as a gate structure, a palace called the audience hall of Cyrus, and another called the residential palace.[6] These buildings, which lie quite far apart, may have been separated by the shady trees and the clear watercourses of a park.

FIG. 78

ARCHITECTURE

The gate structure was assumed to have been similar to the well-preserved Gate of Xerxes at Persepolis. A pair of colossal winged bulls facing outside was thought to have guarded the opening of the gate and a pair of human-headed bulls to have faced toward the palaces. A columnar hall is said to have formed the middle room of the structure, which seems to have had a side room in the north-east. One jamb of the doorway of this room had the figure of a four-winged genius carved upon it. An inscription above the figure read in three languages: 'I, Cyrus the king, the Achaemenid (built this).' It was still there to be copied by visitors to the site in 1840–41, but today it has disappeared.

PLATE 40 LEFT

The audience hall was reconstructed with a rectangular columnar hall in the centre, surrounded on all four sides by porticoes, enclosed at the ends by a wall or a tower. The so-called residential palace had two similar porticoes but also small rooms built with mud brick, presumably living quarters.

A comparison of these halls and their porticoes with the massive brick architecture of Elam as exemplified at Tchoga Zanbil shows the strikingly different ar-

PLATE II

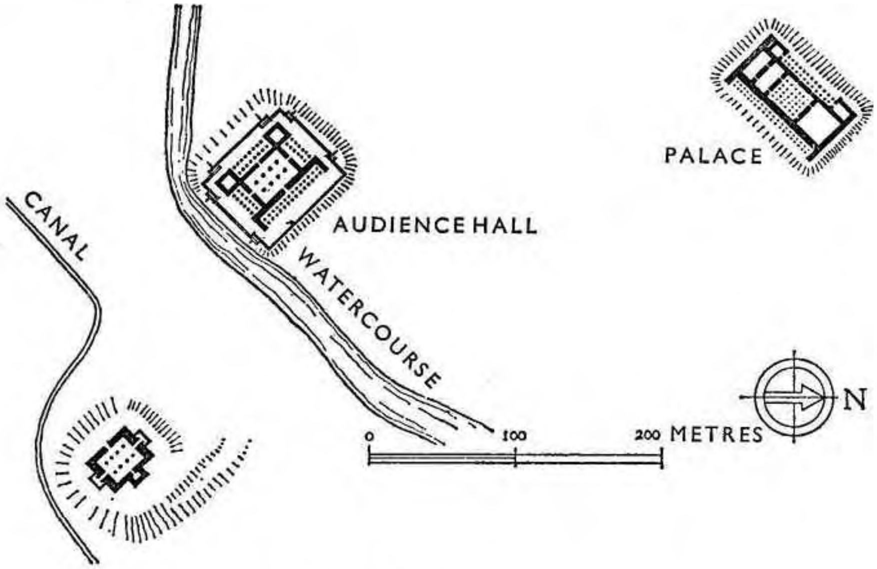


FIG. 78 – *Plan of the principal buildings at Pasargadae.*

chitectural concepts which guided the builders of Pasargadae. The façade is not a solid wall; it is opened up. Literally speaking, the visitor is no longer kept out but invited into the cool shade of noble porticoes. Probably there were several reasons for this difference in architectural ideas: climate, building materials and social structure.

The form of the porticoes, however, was not developed in Iran but may be due to Urartian tradition, whereas the interior hall with a ceiling supported on columns is reminiscent of the columnar halls of Hasanlu.

Columns

The combination of different influences assumed for the plan of the buildings is also evident in the columns. They show considerable influence from the Ionic columns of Asia Minor, although proportions were never correctly observed at Pasargadae. But the idea of a stone column with some standard relations between base and shaft as well as the general form of the base — square plinth and horizontally fluted torus — is surely due to Ionic prototypes. The colour contrast produced by the use of black limestone together with white limestone for the two blocks of the base, and of black limestone for niches and door-frames in buildings otherwise made of white limestone, can also be paralleled by a few Ionic examples.[7] Derivation of the alternating colour effects from Urartian architecture, however, has also been suggested, and it is not impossible that this desire for strong colour contrasts owes its ultimate origin to Near Eastern tradition, even in the Ionic examples.

PLATE 40 RIGHT

Original Iranian elements can be found also in the top of the Persian column, which had the form of a gigantic clamp and held a ceiling beam such as one can still see in modern Iranian peasant houses, where simple forked branches hold the rafters of the roof. At Pasargadae — perhaps even earlier — this simple device was transformed into a capital consisting of a double protome of leonine monsters or bulls; a fragmentary head of a horse belonging to a column protome was also found. In Persepolis most of the capitals had protomes of bulls or human-headed bulls. Forms of other creatures such as griffins were tried out and then discarded, obviously because they were unsuitable.[8] FIG. 79

Tomb of Cyrus

Still further to the south than the palace area stands the tomb of Cyrus, a far more impressive structure than one would expect from the photographs and drawings of the gabled house-shape on the stepped platform. FIG. 80 The total height of the structure is 11 metres and the well-dressed building blocks are almost as tall as a man. In typically Achaemenid manner the blocks were held together by swallow-tail clamps of lead and iron, of which only those in the hollow roof have remained in place. Trees of different kinds are said by classical authors to have surrounded the tomb of Cyrus. We may assume them to have been planted at some distance from the tomb and to have been shorter than the total height of the structure, thus making it seem even more imposing. In 1961 another tomb of the same shape but of smaller size was reported by L. Vanden Berghe southwest of Shiraz.[8a]

Towers at Pasargadae and Naqsh-i Rustem

Like the tomb of Cyrus, the isolated structure of the tall square tower mentioned above conveys an impression of strength and massiveness. Though it is badly preserved, it can be reconstructed after a second tower erected in the valley of Naqsh-i Rustem doubtless according to the prototype of Pasargadae.[9] On three sides this tower of Naqsh-i Rustem has three rows of windows, the lowest of which are the largest. These rows of windows simulate an interior division of the tower into several storeys, whereas the building is solid in its lower part and has only one high room above. In the projecting well-dressed quoins the tower resembles a gate tower at the Urartian fortress of Taishebaini, modern Karmir Blur, which was excavated in Russian Armenia near Erivan.[10] Moreover, the dark stone used for the tower of Karmir Blur resembles the black limestone used for the frames of the windows in the towers of Naqsh-i Rustem and Pasargadae. If we assume that the preference for dark stone and also for strong colour contrasts was handed down from the Urartians to the Persians, we shall have to postulate as an intermediary Median architecture, as yet unknown. Another possibility is that the Persians, whose military campaigns extended to Karmir Blur, saw Urartian architecture and copied it.

What was the purpose of the towers at Naqsh-i Rustem, Pasargadae and another, badly preserved example at Nurabad, north of Shapur, described by Ghirshman? Speculations have varied from tomb tower to fire sanctuary.[11]

Admittedly, these towers differ completely in plan from the late Achaemenid fire temple excavated at Susa, which had a small cella resting on four columns and surrounded by corridors. Presumably the sacred fire was kept in the cella and was brought onto the porch for public ceremonies. Yet the existence of one type of fire temple does not exclude the possibility that at this early period another tower-shaped type was also used. This possibility is all the more attractive because the tower type might have been derived from an earlier altar type represented in an Assyrian relief from the time of Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.).[12] Such a connection with earlier prototypes is also suggested by the fact that no late Achaemenid tower structures seem to exist. Thus the tower at Naqsh-i Rustem was surely erected in connection with the tomb of Darius the Great

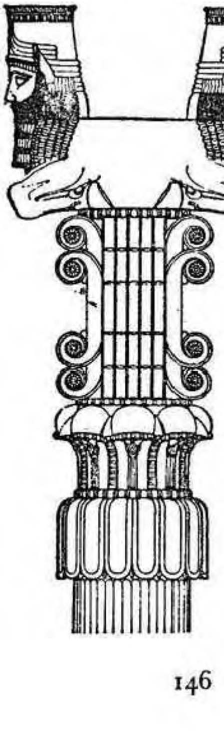
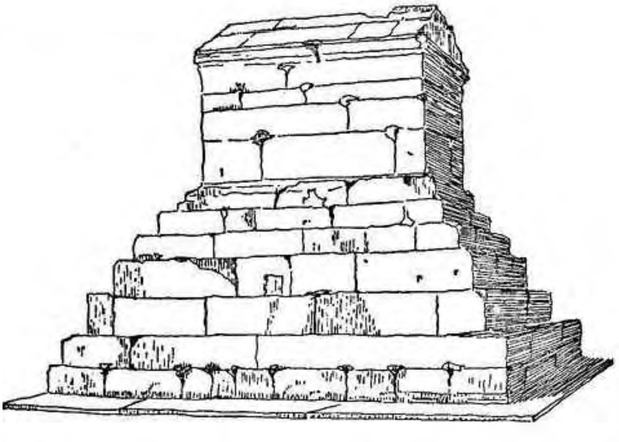


FIG. 79 – *Column with human-headed bull capital from Persepolis.*

FIG. 80 – *Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae.*



Tomb of Darius I at Naqsh-i Rustem FIG. 42 FIG. 81

carved in the rock somewhat further back in the valley. This place, chosen by Darius, was marked as a sacred site by an Elamite relief close to the western entrance into the valley. Following Darius, four of his successors had their tombs carved in these rocks. All of them took over the cross-shaped form of the façade of the first tomb, which was probably a consciously selected symbolic shape. The horizontal bar of the cross is carved as a portico with columns topped by capitals in the shape of double bull protomes upon which a platform rests. Upon the platform stand the representatives of the nations of the Achaemenid empire, supporting a throne or couch on which the king stands on a stepped platform. With the left hand he holds his bow, set down on his foot as in the relief of Qyzqapan or on the gold bowl of Hasanlu. He raises his right hand in prayer toward Ahura Mazda, who rises from a winged disk, and to the moon. Below these symbols stands an altar on which blazes a fire. The lowest arm of the cross in the tomb façade remained empty. Later tombs of Achaemenid kings were all copied from this example, with scarcely perceptible differences. Even those carved at Persepolis were all alike. The actual tomb-chambers were hollowed out of the rock behind the façade. Today all these chambers are completely denuded of what were probably sumptuous royal furnishings. A high wall surrounded the sacred precinct of Naqsh-i Rustem and also the tower. Although this confirms the sacred character of the latter structure, suggested above on the basis of its position opposite the tomb of Darius, its real meaning is still an enigma.

FIGS. 63, 74

Achaemenid terraces

Elevation above the plane of ordinary human beings, for which Darius obviously strove in his rock relief at Bisutun and in his tomb façade, is also manifested in his choice of the high terrace of Persepolis for his treasury and his palace — an effective setting for the New Year's ceremonies. In the selection of the site he may have also been influenced by the existing terraces of the early Achaemenid period[13] which have been found at various sites, including Pasargadae, and which may have added some religious significance to the increased security that they afforded the citadel at Pasargadae and the palaces at Persepolis.

At Persepolis, where Darius may have begun to build in 520 B.C., the fortifications and military quarters were erected first and, almost at the same time, the storehouses for treasure, weapons and supplies, the building complex called the *Treasury* by the American excavators. In its main features the entire layout of the great halls on the terrace seems to have been planned from the beginning, although it took about sixty years to complete. The functions of these different halls in the ceremonies of the New Year's festival were reconstructed vividly and for the most part convincingly by Ghirshman, who used not only the remaining ruins of the building and the contents of their reliefs but also his knowledge of Iranian tribal meetings, in which many ancient customs are preserved.[14]

Festival at Persepolis

Probably delegations from all parts of the empire streamed to Persepolis long before the great festival. Around the town, which lay at the foot of the terrace, tents with gay pennants would have spread far into the plain. On the day of the festival the king's guests, the greatest dignitaries of the empire, Persians and Medes, ascended the broad stairs to the terrace. The stairs were designed as for a stage. Made of beautiful white limestone — the same material that was used for the walls — but carefully smoothed to resemble marble, two gently rising flights of steps led in opposite directions to intermediate landings where the direction was reversed and the stairs turned and converged toward the top landing (1).[15] After the completion of the Gate of Xerxes (2) (described above on p. 144 in connection with the supposed gate structure at Pasargadae), visitors passed through the Gate before entering the square in front of the great audience hall or *Apadana* of Darius and Xerxes. In turning toward the hall, the visitor faced one of the noblest structures of the ancient world (5). PLAN: FIG. 82 PLATE 41

The building was over twenty metres high and even further raised by a socle

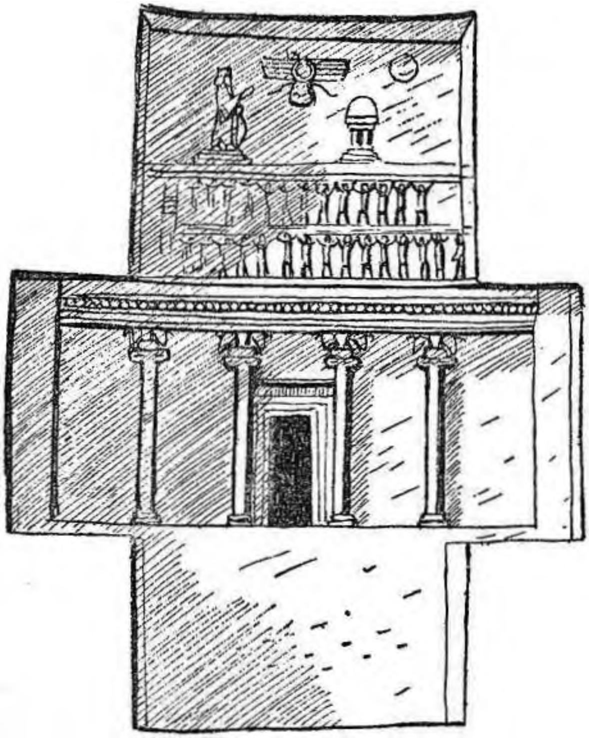


FIG. 81 – *Rock-cut tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i Rustem.*

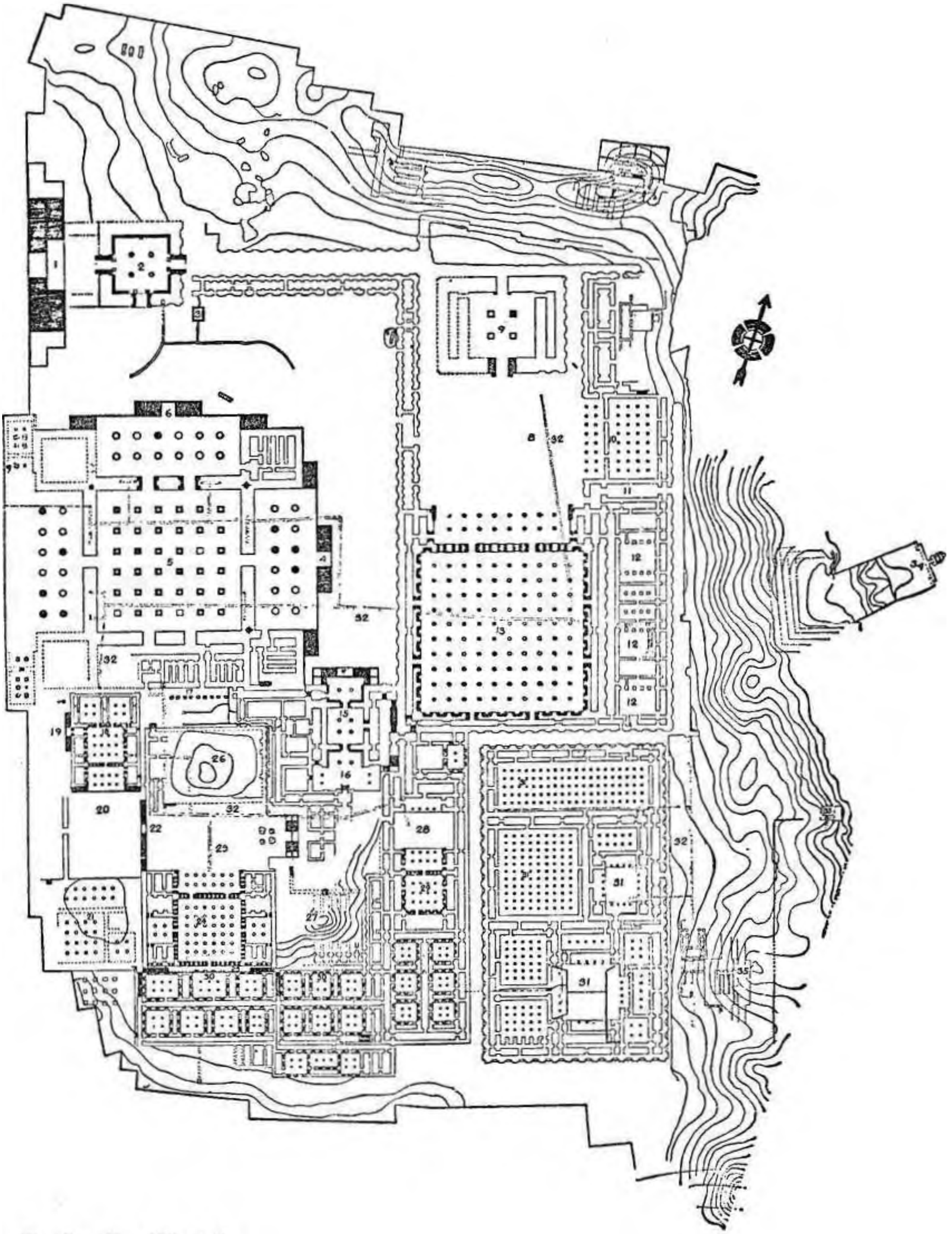


FIG. 82 – *Plan of Persepolis.*

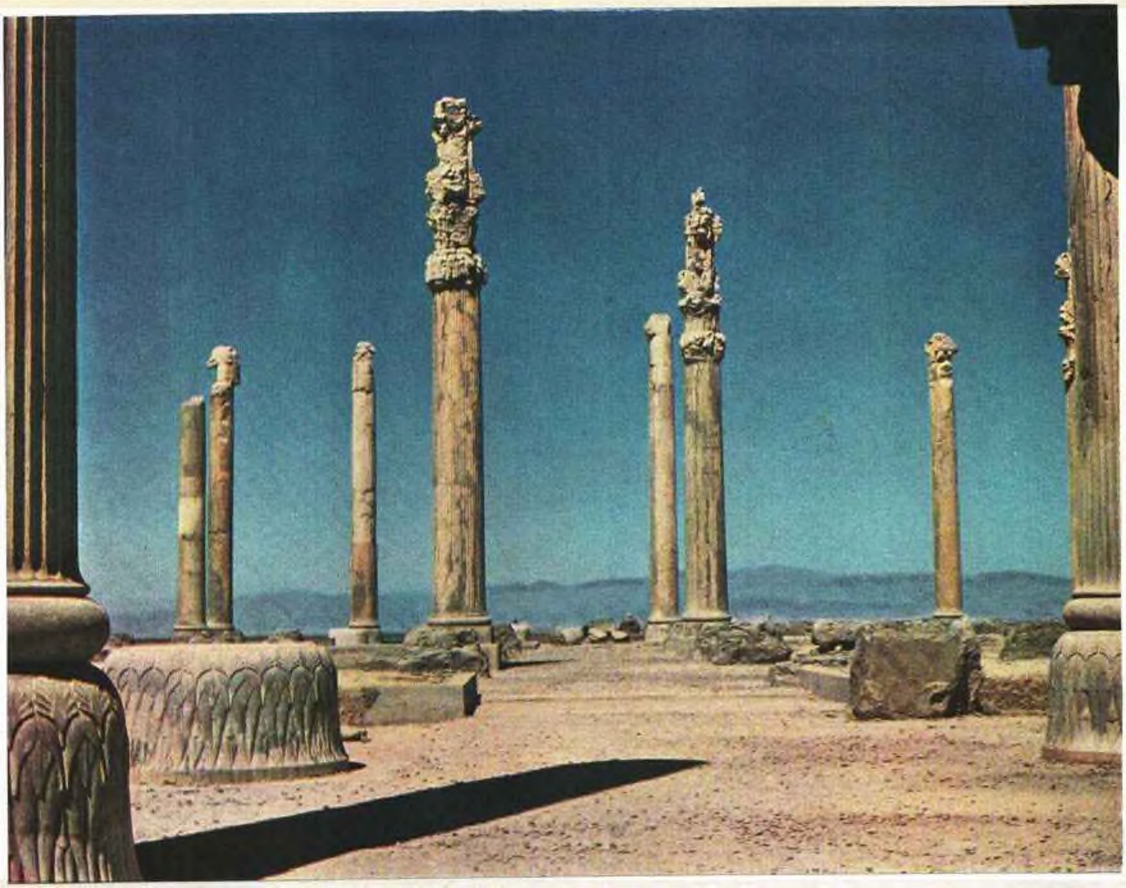
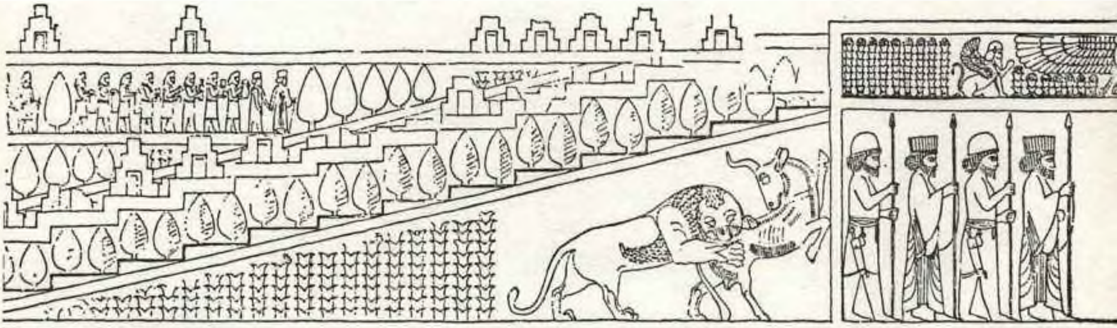


PLATE 41 – Columns of the audience hall, the Apadana, at Persepolis. It was planned by Darius I and completed by Xerxes, about 515-458 B.C. *Cf. p. 148.*



2.60 metres tall. The square main hall, which was enclosed by thick mud-brick walls, had a side length of 60.50 metres, to which should be added the porticoes on three sides and the store-rooms in the back. At all four corners of the building stood towers enclosing stair-wells leading to the roof. At the entrance to each tower were guardian figures of great dogs or other animals.

From the square before the Apadana two monumental stairways led up to the porticoes, one in the east (4), the other on the north (6). The parapets of these stairways were crowned by four-stepped battlements, used in the same way throughout the terrace. Battlements are presumed to have been used also for decoration of the roofs, but this cannot be proved. To judge by the use of battlements in the crown of Darius at Bisutun and in the blue head of a prince, discussed on page 160, they had a symbolic protective meaning in addition to their decorative value.

FIG. 83

The façades and parapets of the stairways were covered with reliefs. 'Each of the two stairways shows essentially the same scenes: a procession of twenty-three tribute-bearing delegations of the empire and lines of guards, dignitaries, horses, chariots and attendants, in addition to other motifs.'[16] These reliefs are thought to show in an abbreviated manner the sequence of the first phase of the New Year's festival, which will be described here as it can be read from the reliefs.

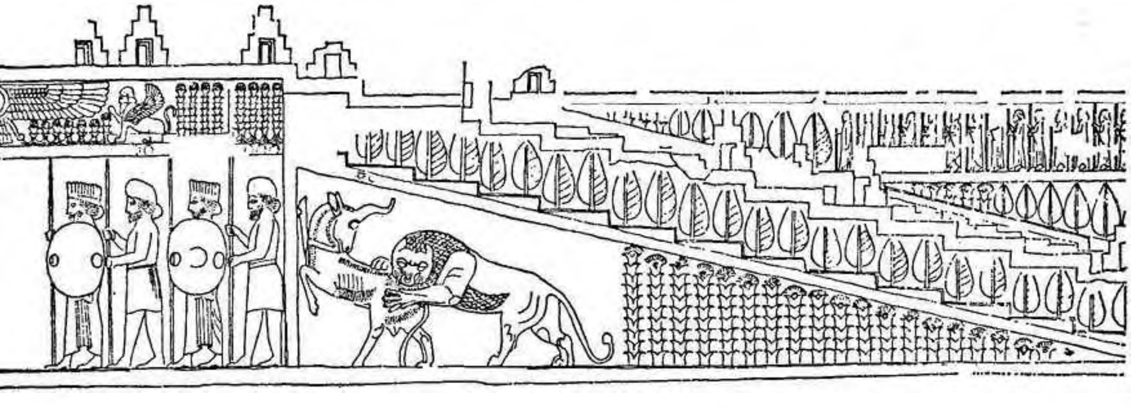
Before the stairs stood the king's guards, called the *Immortals* because their number of ten thousand was immediately re-established after every loss. On the sides of the stairs were the Persian guards, attired in a flowing robe, *candys*, and fluted cap, or tiara. Everyone was turned toward the entrance of the audience hall in which the king was present.

Guests and dignitaries who were admitted to the audience in the Apadana probably went in through the two northern entrances, while the king himself doubtless came through an entrance on the east side (4). After the audience the king and his entourage would take their places on the western portico and its narrow forecourt, which extended to the edge of the terrace and permitted an excellent view of the happenings below.

Susian guards
PLATE 42

The order of groups in the procession pictured at the back of the stairs on the socle of the audience hall indicated that the Susian guards in their brilliantly

FIG. 83 – *General view of the eastern stairway of the Apadana at Persepolis.*



coloured robes came first. We know the beautiful colours and the patterning of these robes from the reliefs of glazed brick discovered at Susa. At Persepolis none of the original colour has been preserved. The garments from Susa show scatter patterns of rosettes, stars, squares, each inscribed with a city gate, and borders of lotus flowers, all in different colour combinations. The guards carry bows and great quivers with arrows and set the globular end of their spears on the forward foot, a gesture which corresponds to that of setting the bow on the foot, seen on the façades of the royal tombs.

The Susians were followed by three groups of royal grooms, horses of the royal stable, and chariots, all led by ushers. After them came interminable rows of Susian guards, followed by a group of Persian and Median nobles or dignitaries in which the Persians seem to have had precedence over the Medes. The Medes wore a tall, rounded felt cap with a ribbon hanging down in the back, a long tight coat which reached to slightly above the knees and was tied by a belt, and long trousers probably made of leather, as well as laced shoes. Most of them have a coat with empty sleeves hanging over their shoulders, as at Qyzqapan. Persians and Medes wear the same type of jewellery, a twisted or plain torque, ear-rings and bracelets. On the reliefs most of the persons in this group carry a blossom. It may have been one of those sweet-smelling flowers which are often used instead of perfume in the Near East and which preserve their fragrance for days.

FIG. 74

March of the Nations

To judge by the reliefs, the March of the Nations must have begun after these groups of Susians, Persians and Medes had passed. First came the Medes with their fine horses, then the Susians, who brought with them a lioness and her cubs, as well as bows and daggers, the latter surely of precious metal. After a few more delegations, all led by ushers, followed the Lydians. They wore short-sleeved long gowns with a wavy pattern, perhaps suggesting wool. Over the left shoulder was draped a scarf with tasselled corners, and on the head they wore a tall turban-like head-dress below which hung a very stylized braid, perhaps no longer made of hair but of ribbon. They had low boots with slightly upturned toes, the age-old characteristic footwear of Asia Minor. Their tribute consisted of two metal vessels with handles ending in winged bulls, two low metal bowls, and two oblong rings each ornamented with two griffins. Finally there was a chariot with a plain body drawn by two stallions led by turbanless grooms.

PLATE 43

Other delegations which presumably created much interest were the Sogdians with their broad-tailed Karakul sheep and lamb-skins, probably valuable furs, then the Indians, bare-chested, which was most unusual, though their leader wore a flowing Indian dress which was surely of gay colours and must have been striking. One of the Indians carried a pair of baskets containing pots presumably full of gold dust.[17] The Arabs with their dromedary and the crinkly-haired Ethiopians with an okapi would have delighted the onlookers.[18]

The Tripylon

After the conclusion of this long procession the king probably left the Apadana and may have passed through the so-called Tripylon on his way to the banquet, the second phase of the festivities. The Tripylon has also been called the 'Central' building or Council Hall. It is a beautiful little building with three monumental doorways which probably indicate its function as 'the main link of communication between the northern area of open courts and spacious public buildings and that portion of the site which was occupied by the residential palaces of the kings.'[19]

The reliefs on the jambs of the northern and southern doorways show the king

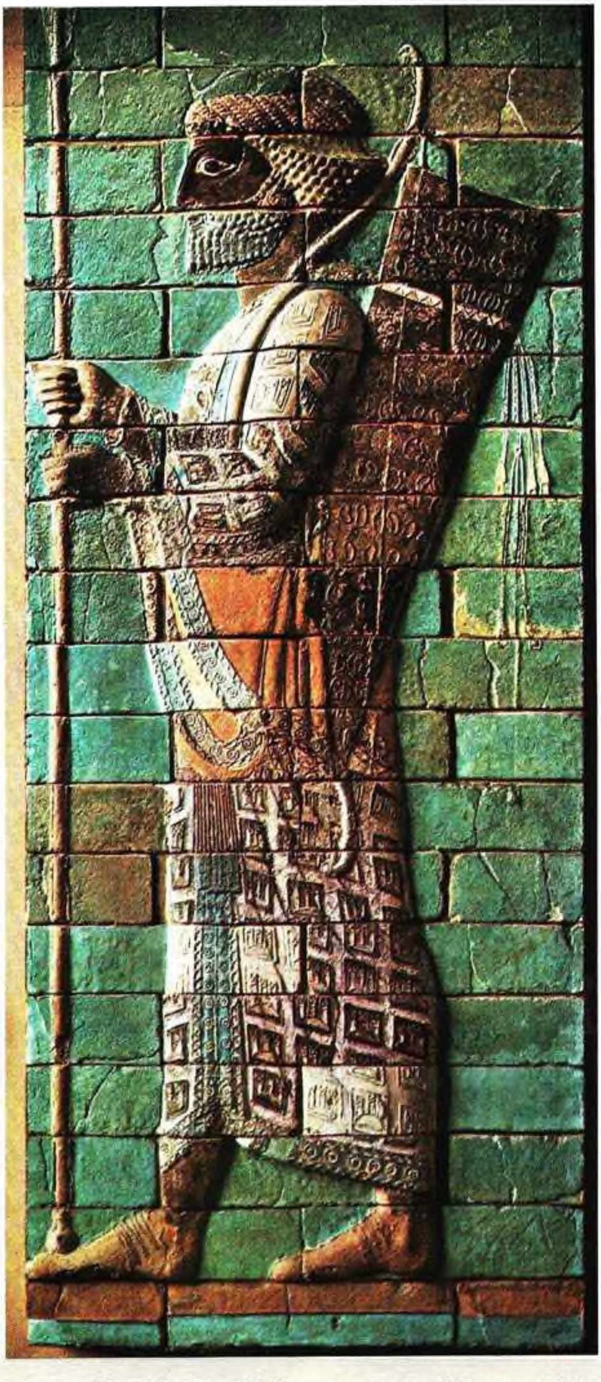


PLATE 42 – A royal guardsman. Glazed brick relief from the palace of Artaxerxes Memnon at Susa. 404-358 B.C. *Louvre, Paris. Height of panel about 1.80 m. Cf. pp. 151, 160.*

followed by two attendants, one of whom carries the royal parasol, while the other holds a fly-whisk over the king's head and carries a towel. The banquet probably took place in the principal hall of the palace of Xerxes (24), once that structure was completed. Whether or not it could have been held earlier in the much smaller palace of Darius (18) is difficult to say.

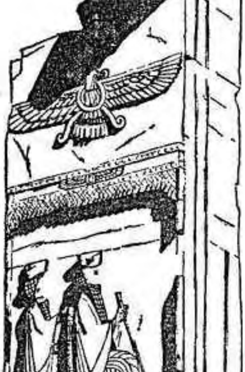
The banquet

The third and perhaps most important symbolic phase of the festival appears to have been the carrying of the king on his throne by the representatives of the nations from the Tripylon to the Hall of a Hundred Columns.[20] There, perhaps on the large square before the hall, one may reconstruct as a fourth phase an impressive military parade of the Immortals before their king.

This interpretation has been deduced in large part from the reliefs, some of which admittedly come from the time of Darius' grandson, Artaxerxes (465–423 B.C.). Yet it seems likely that changes occurred only in details and that the ceremonies portrayed corresponded to those instituted in the time of Darius and continued until his last successor.

PLATE 44 RIGHT
FIG. 84

An exceptional representation is found only in the reliefs on the jambs of the eastern doorway of the Tripylon. These show King Darius and the Crown Prince Xerxes in the same relief, protected by a canopy over which floats the god Ahura Mazda in the winged disk. Nowhere else is there such an expression of a close relationship between father and son.



The plate on page 157 renders the relief on the left jamb of the eastern doorway of the Tripylon; our drawing (Fig. 84) gives a sketch of the opposite right jamb. For reasons that are difficult to explain, every motif at Persepolis had a counterpart.

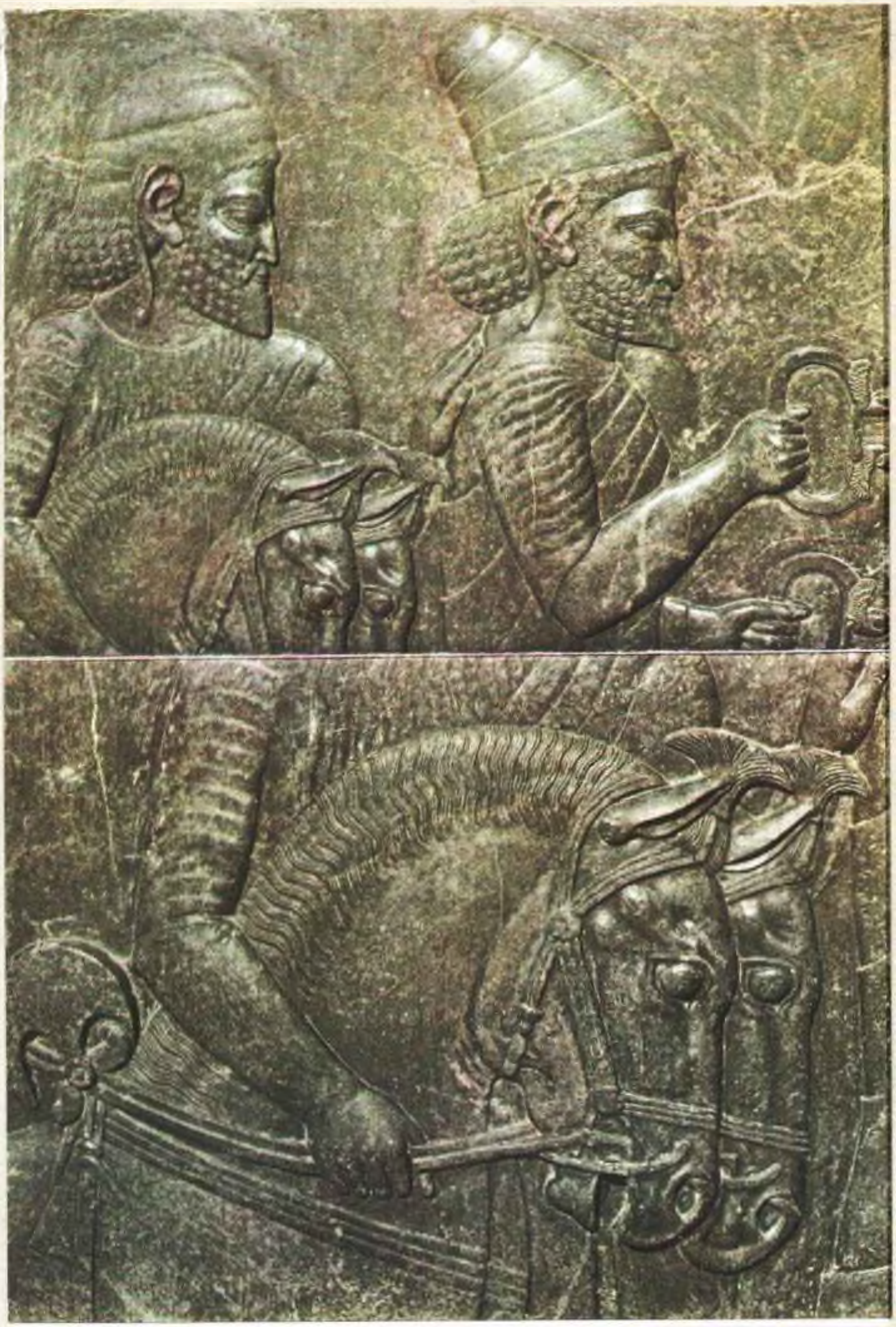
The colours of the Ahura Mazda symbol on the Tripylon can be reconstructed after those of a similar symbol discovered by Herzfeld in the Hundred Column Hall and sketched by him before they disappeared.[21] They showed turquoise blue, light scarlet red, golden or orange yellow, deep purple, lapis-lazuli blue and a few touches of emerald green, all on a black background. Additional colour in these reliefs would have been provided by the gold or heavily gilded material with which the royal insignia were covered. Traces of such covering can be seen in the damaged Tripylon reliefs, which show slits on the side of the crowns in which metal fittings had been fastened.

To this description of the colours originally used in the decoration of Persepolis may be added that of the glazed reliefs of Susa — given on page 152. This evidence gives us some idea of the blaze of colours presented by the Achaemenid court, especially at the time of the New Year's festival.

To the buildings described in the course of the hypothetical reconstruction of the New Year's festival may be added the unfinished gate opposite the Hundred Column Hall; this gate may have been intended to assure an impressive entrance to the military groups thought to have paraded on the square north of

FIG. 84 – *King Darius on the throne supported by the nations of the empire. Relief on the south jamb of the eastern doorway in the main hall of the Tripylon at Persepolis.*

PLATE 43 – Above: Lydian tributaries. Below: heads of horses led by the Lydian tributaries. Both are details from a relief in the tribute procession on the eastern stairway of the Apadana at Persepolis. Probably reign of → Xerxes (486-465 B.C.). *Height of the entire relief about 88 cm. Cf. pp. 152, 156.*



the hall, which measures four thousand square metres in area. Furthermore, there was the so-called Harem, now identified more convincingly as additional storage facilities.[22]

Loose grouping of halls

In its loose grouping of single halls, Persepolis resembles Pasargadae, whereas at Susa, where another Achaemenid palace was excavated, the ancient Near Eastern palace plan seems to have influenced the arrangement of rooms around courts so that the palace was reconstructed — albeit not very reliably — as a coherent complex.[23]

Foreign elements combined in columns

FIG. 79

In contrast to Pasargadae, the main rooms at Persepolis are square, but in both places there is an extensive use of columns. The columns themselves, however, are far more richly developed at Persepolis and at Susa than they had been at Pasargadae. The bases are bell-shaped and carved with leaf or flower patterns. Above the base is an undecorated torus, from which rises a fluted shaft. Between the top of the capital with double protomes (already found at Pasargadae) and the shaft, many columns at Persepolis have two additional members: a corolla-like capital rising from a wreath of leaves turned down like sepals, and a connecting piece composed of vertical double scrolls. These volutes and the fluting of the shaft were taken over from eastern Greek prototypes. Other foreign elements may be the wreath of sepal-like leaves which occurs on Phoenician and Urartian furniture and the floral capital which reminds one of Egyptian examples without, however, resembling in detail any specific Egyptian capital. The combination of all these elements into a coherent entity which makes a harmonious impression, despite its gigantic proportions, is one of the principal achievements of the Achaemenid artists.

Egyptian cavetto cornice

A new element in the architectural decoration of the façades was the cavetto cornice, first seen in the palace of Darius. Like the new and elegant form which the old symbol of the winged sun-disk was given by renewed contacts with Egyptian prototypes in the time of Darius, the cornices are traceable to Egyptian influence. Darius' stay in Egypt and the building of the temple of Amon which he erected at Hibis in El Kharga oasis aroused the great king's interest in Egyptian architecture. Perhaps even the plan of his palace was influenced by Egyptian architecture.[24] At any rate there were also Egyptian artists among the men of different nationalities whom Darius employed in his buildings, as he described in an inscription discovered at Susa: '...the stone-cutters who wrought the stone, those were Ionians and Sardians. The goldsmiths who wrought the gold, those were Medes and Egyptians. The men who wrought the baked brick, those were Babylonians. The men who adorned the wall, those were Medes and Egyptians.'[25]

SCULPTURE

Reliefs

PLATE 43 BELOW

The reliefs of Persepolis which were described above only because of their contents deserve comment also because of their artistic qualities. A detail of horses' heads from the group of the Lydian tributaries may tell more about the character of Achaemenid art than the entire façade, for today the reliefs almost seem monotonous with all the colour gone. The noble form of each horse's head, the soft nostrils and lips, the large eyes are rendered by very restrained yet effective modelling. A difference in texture is suggested between the taut skin of the living horses and their slightly undulated manes on the one hand and the inanimate leather and metal of the harnesses on the other hand.

PLATE 21 BELOW

In contrast to the horses of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, which stand off from the background like cut-outs, the Achaemenid relief seems to imply the actual rounding of the head. The Assyrian artist concentrated on details such as the

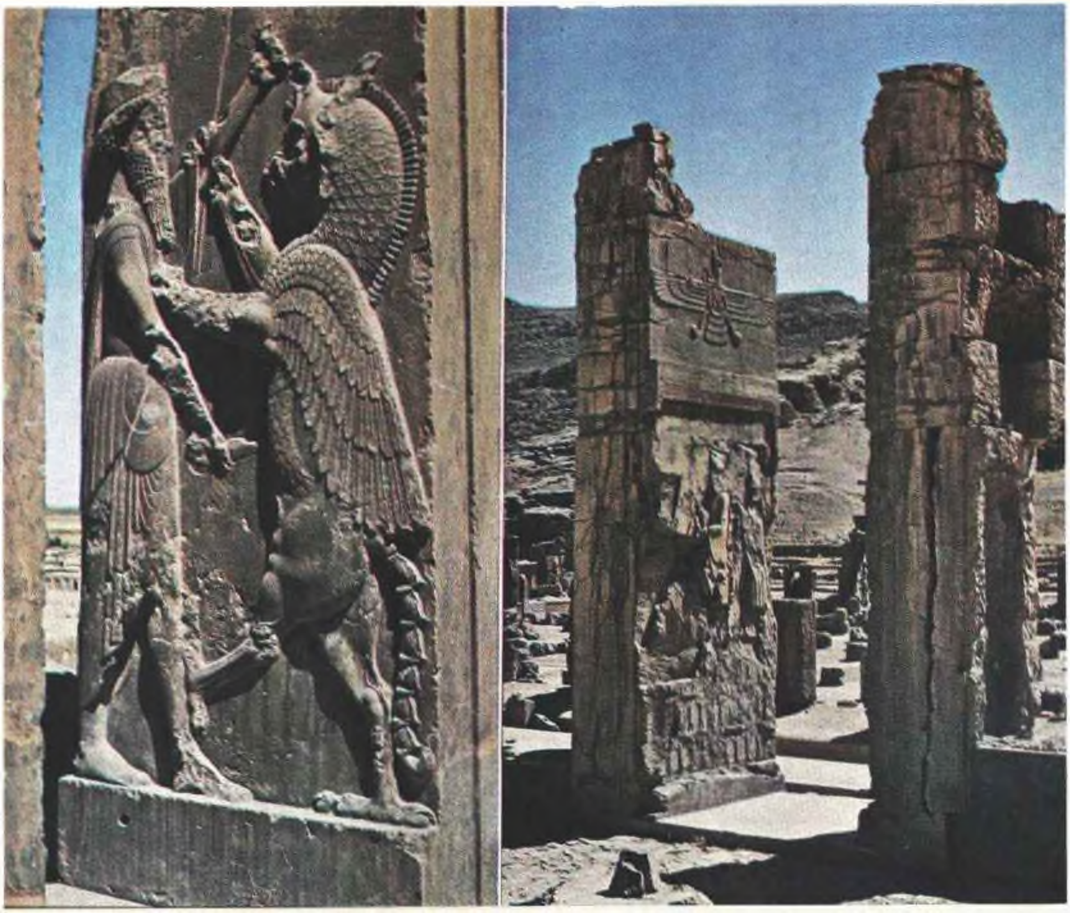


PLATE 44 – Left: a royal hero battling with a lion-headed monster. Relief from the palace of Darius at Persepolis on the north jamb of the southern doorway in the west wall of the main hall. Probably from the reign of Xerxes (486-465 B.C.). *Height of the entire jamb 4.18 m; height of the socle on which the figures stand 0.34 m.* Right: view of the north jambs of the eastern doorway in the main hall of the Tripylon at Persepolis. The relief shows Darius on the throne carried by the nations of the empire. Xerxes, the crown prince, stands behind him. A baldachin and the symbol of Ahura Mazda appear above Darius and Xerxes. *Measurements approximately as above.*
Cf. pp. 145, 154, 159.

sharply defined nostrils, whereas the rest of the horse's head is divided up into larger and smaller planes, some of which remain quite undifferentiated. The sculptor of the Persepolis relief, however, treated every detail of the head as part of the whole and gave scarcely more definition to the nostrils than to the muscles of the forehead. It is possible that the fine smooth surface of the stone, on which the light appears to take over the task of modelling the forms and to stress important parts, was once covered with paint, but this would not have detracted from the effect of the relief. For the modern viewer the glass-like smoothness of the best-preserved sculptures at Persepolis seems to remove them from immediate contact and creates a feeling of unapproachability.

These reliefs show the influence of Greek art, often actually the hand of a Greek stone-carver.[26] In the earliest work of Achaemenid sculpture, the genius of Pasargadae, this was not yet the case. The genius is rendered in flat relief, and all details are merely engraved upon the surface. Such four-winged genii are known from Assyrian art, and the composite *atef* crown is of Egyptian origin. It can be found on apotropaic figurines of the Late Dynastic period of Egypt and was probably used at Pasargadae precisely because of this apotropaic association.[27] PLATE 40 LEFT

The robe of the genius recalls in the border of rosettes the garment of an Elamite ruler on a relief from Malamir, dated about 700 B.C., and of an Elamite prince in the reliefs of Ashurbanipal depicting the battles against the Elamites.[28] The rendering of the hair of the genius in corkscrew curls and the relatively short beard may likewise be Elamite, to judge by the renderings in the battle scenes, which we may assume to portray typical Elamites, not their Persian auxiliaries. Such a survival of Elamite attire in the earliest works of Achaemenid art is interesting and might support the notion that there was a rather close connection in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. between the Elamite centre of the Susiana and what was later to be the province of Fars and that this connection was maintained even when the centre of power shifted to Fars with the emergence of Persian leadership under Cyrus.

Fragments of other reliefs found at Pasargadae show the same flowing Persian garments seen at Persepolis, stylized according to the conventions of archaic Greek art. Conceivably these reliefs were made after the time of Cyrus. This is suggested by the height of the relief and the subtle modelling of the feet, often the only part of the figures preserved at Pasargadae.

FIG. 85 Such preference for high relief can be found already in the earliest work of Darius, the rock relief at Bisutun. In contrast with the flat figures of Elamite rock reliefs, the figures in the relief of Darius are strongly rounded. Otherwise the scene shows many traits derived from ancient Near Eastern tradition. Mention was made above (p. 143) of the relation which can be noted in this composition to the relief of Anubanini at Sar-i Pul. Furthermore, the symbol of Ahura Mazda at Bisutun and elsewhere in Achaemenid art is derived from Assyrian art, in which the winged disk was the symbol of the supreme deity.

The polos of Ahura Mazda in the relief of Bisutun, which was topped with a star and was doubtless covered with gold, differs decidedly in shape from the battlemented crown of the king, which is decorated on its circumference with a pattern of alternating rosettes and double lotus-blossoms. This pattern is of Phoenician origin, but it is found on Elamite vessels of faience and bronze and was still used in Sasanian times. Probably it had a propitious meaning, like the battlements of the crown.[29]

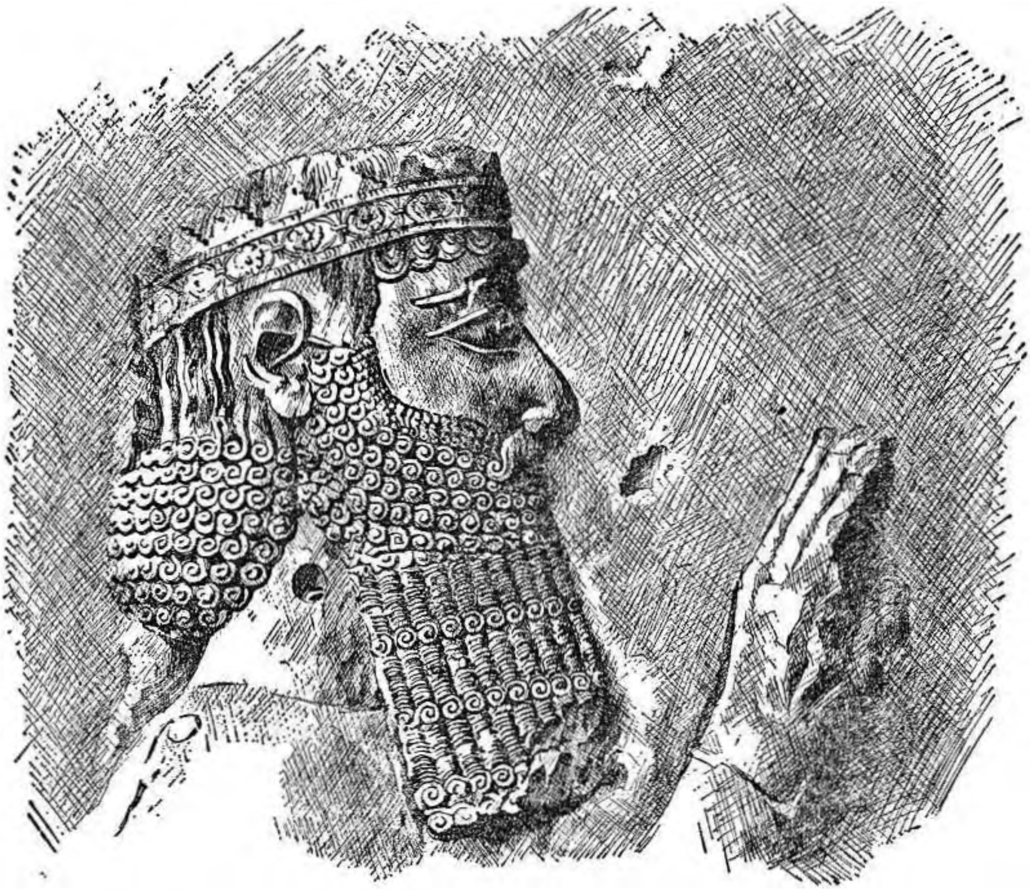


Fig. 85 – *Head of Darius from the relief at Bisutun.*

In the later reliefs of Persepolis the headgear of god and king seem to have become very similar, probably owing to a conscious attempt to assimilate the image of the king to that of the god. The rendering of the Achaemenid king as conqueror of supernatural beasts and monsters ascribes to him feats which only gods and genii can perform in Assyrian art. It is possible that the renderings at Persepolis were a deliberate iconographic innovation of Darius and express ideas about kingship which he developed in the course of his reign. A cylinder seal representing the king standing on supernatural monsters indicates pictorially that he is raised to the sphere of supernatural power. One should add, however, that these pictorial renderings seem to indicate a more elevated position of the king than the one suggested by the inscriptions in which he presents himself as gratefully dependent upon the help of Ahura Mazda. It is possible that Darius, who had to establish his rule against great opposition within his country and without, utilized religion and iconography to support this rule and

PLATE 44 LEFT

FIG. 88

to confirm his claim to power.[30] Perhaps he also took over from Egypt the idea of a superhuman position for the king.

At Persepolis the figure of the king dominated the themes of many of the reliefs: the king on his throne, the king walking, accompanied by his attendants, the king as a hero. Even where the king is not represented in person, the themes are nevertheless largely related to him, as in the rendering of servants, guards and tributaries. Perhaps even the group of lion and bull, which appears so frequently in the reliefs of Persepolis and which has been interpreted by some scholars as a symbol of the equinox, had more than one meaning and should be regarded as a symbol of royal victory — for which one can cite a late Assyrian precedent.[31]

Glazed brick reliefs
PLATE 42

The glazed brick reliefs of Susa have different themes. In addition to the renderings of Susian guards already mentioned, they have rows of winged bulls, lions, dragons and axially posed sphinxes. At Persepolis such motifs were used only on a small scale and as pure decoration, like the rows of lions on the royal canopy. The use of these ancient motifs, which probably had symbolic significance, may go back to Elamite tradition. In earlier Elamite buildings coloured tiles with rows of animals and monsters had been used for the decoration of interior and perhaps even exterior walls. Furthermore, the great structures of Nebuchadnezzar (604–562 B.C.) at Babylon, with their glazed brick decorations showing long rows of bulls, lions and dragons, probably influenced the decoration of the palace at Susa. Although a late date under Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.) is assumed for that palace, one may suppose that elements of decoration used in the palace of Darius were retained.

The brick reliefs are executed more cursorily than the surviving fragments of stone relief (which indicate that stone reliefs also were employed at Susa). Possibly this apparently careless execution is a result of the technique in which the reliefs were made, since they were not modelled directly but pressed into a mould. The principal colours are still the same as in the Elamite tiles: blue, white, yellow, green and black.

Aside from the sculptures associated with architecture at Persepolis and Pasargadae, no free-standing monumental works have been preserved from Achaemenid times. A number of small objects, however, show the surprisingly unified sculptural style of this period. A crowned head of blue glass-like composition, 'Egyptian Blue', found at Persepolis, has the beautiful clear lines and smooth planes of the larger sculptures and also the pleasing proportions of decorated and undecorated surfaces. To judge by the male hairdress, the beardless head represents a young prince. The face is broad with small round chin, small mouth and narrow lips, a fine, very slightly arched nose like that of the Lydians, and large eyes which once had inlays for eyeball and pupil, probably of semi-precious stones since they were pried out of their sockets in antiquity.

The blue head
PLATE 45

From the crown of the head the hair is combed radially in curls which rise above the forehead, as in all the reliefs of Persepolis. They recall the upright curl of the priest on the gold bowl of Hasanlu and related curls which human figures wear on quivers found in Luristan.[32] A definite tradition in the hair style may be represented here, though we cannot associate it as yet with a specific ethnic group. The purpose for which the head was made is uncertain. It is possible that it was inserted in a figure of different material, because the neck may not be broken off but seems to show rather smooth edges. In order to maintain the proportions of the head, the figure would have had to be at least 35 centimetres high. For this size one would assume that a definite person was represented, in spite of the gen-

PLATE 15

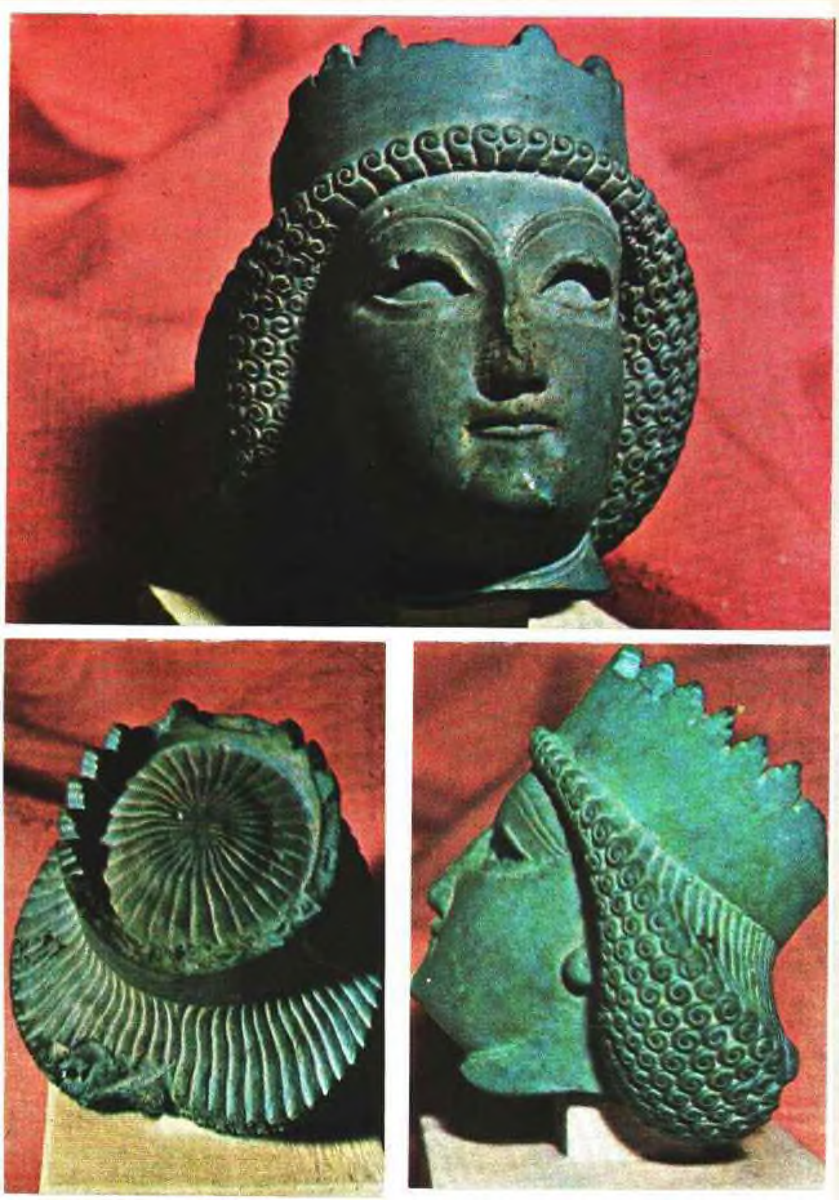


PLATE 45 – Head of a prince with a mural crown. Found at Persepolis. 5th-4th century B.C. Below, left and right: back and side view of the same head. Probably made of 'Egyptian Blue'. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Height 6.5 cm, width 6 cm. Cf. pp. 160, 200.*

eralized impersonal features. A new problem is also posed by the blue colour of the head. Statues and statuettes of the pre-Achaemenid period which were made as religious images or as votive figures sometimes have hair and beard of blue lapis lazuli but not a blue face. Also gold, silver and bronze could be used for such figures since these metal colours are somehow compatible with the natural appearance of the human face. Was Achaemenid art so much concerned with decoration, so independent in its use of the colours and shapes of nature, that the statuette of a specific prince could be made in unnatural blue? Or is the little head merely part of a decorative object in which several heads and figures were used? These are some of the possibilities which suggest themselves and which demonstrate how little we know of the artistic practices of the period.

Animal sculptures: lions

Achaemenid minor arts have produced a large number of animal sculptures, the majority of which are in metal. Their expressive stylization is often very attractive, more so than the renderings of human beings, many of which lack all individual character. But individuality should not be sought in ancient Western Asiatic art, and especially not in the art of the Achaemenids.

PLATE 46 BELOW

The roaring lion with extended forepaws, ready to jump up and attack his opponent, is an ancient motif of Western Asiatic art. In the Achaemenid period different stylizations were worked out for this motif, which gave lasting forms to the fury and power of the animal. A weight in the form of a lion from Susa continues an Assyrian tradition, but instead of the almost naturalistic lion head of the Assyrian prototypes, an abstract composition has been created here of rounded forms and lines. The cheek muscles lie on the face like the leaves of a palmette, the wrinkles on the nose have become elegantly curving ridges, eye and ear are almost globular, or rather semi-globular. The mane, with the tufts divided into regular rows, curves around the shoulder in a sickle shape, as in Egyptian lions and sphinxes. The shoulder muscles are stylized in a characteristically Achaemenid manner as an irregular figure eight: a broad ridge which surrounds a pointed oval in a loop forms a second loop below. In view of the abstraction of these details it is surprising that their combination is not only pleasing but also creates a convincing impression of a raging beast.

PLATE 46 ABOVE

A second object in the form of a lion is of hard limestone which sometimes seems greenish, sometimes black. The object is even more simplified than the lion weight but also less expressive; one may note the weak curve of the lips. The type of leonine creature represented resembles the one seen in the reliefs of Persepolis in which a lion attacks a bull. These lions have long lynx-like ears from which tufts of hair protrude. The limestone object was found by Herzfeld in a post-Achaemenid building below and to the west of the terrace. It is approximately cylindrical, becoming somewhat broader at the end. If it were hollow it could be interpreted as a drinking-vessel in lion form, since such vessels were represented in Achaemenid reliefs and an actual example in bronze was found at Gordion.[33] Since the object from Persepolis is massive, Charles Wilkinson suggests that it might have served for making moulds for more common drinking-vessels of clay.

METAL-WORK

Rhyton

PLATE 47 LEFT

A drinking-vessel of gold, probably made for a king, is represented by a rhyton in the Metropolitan Museum, said to have been found at Hamadan-Ecbatana. The similarity in the stylization of the lion protome of the rhyton and the lion weight from Susa once again demonstrates the uniformity in the art of the Achaemenid court. In addition to the stylization of the lion's shoulder muscles, one may observe here the tulip-shaped design on the legs, which was taken over

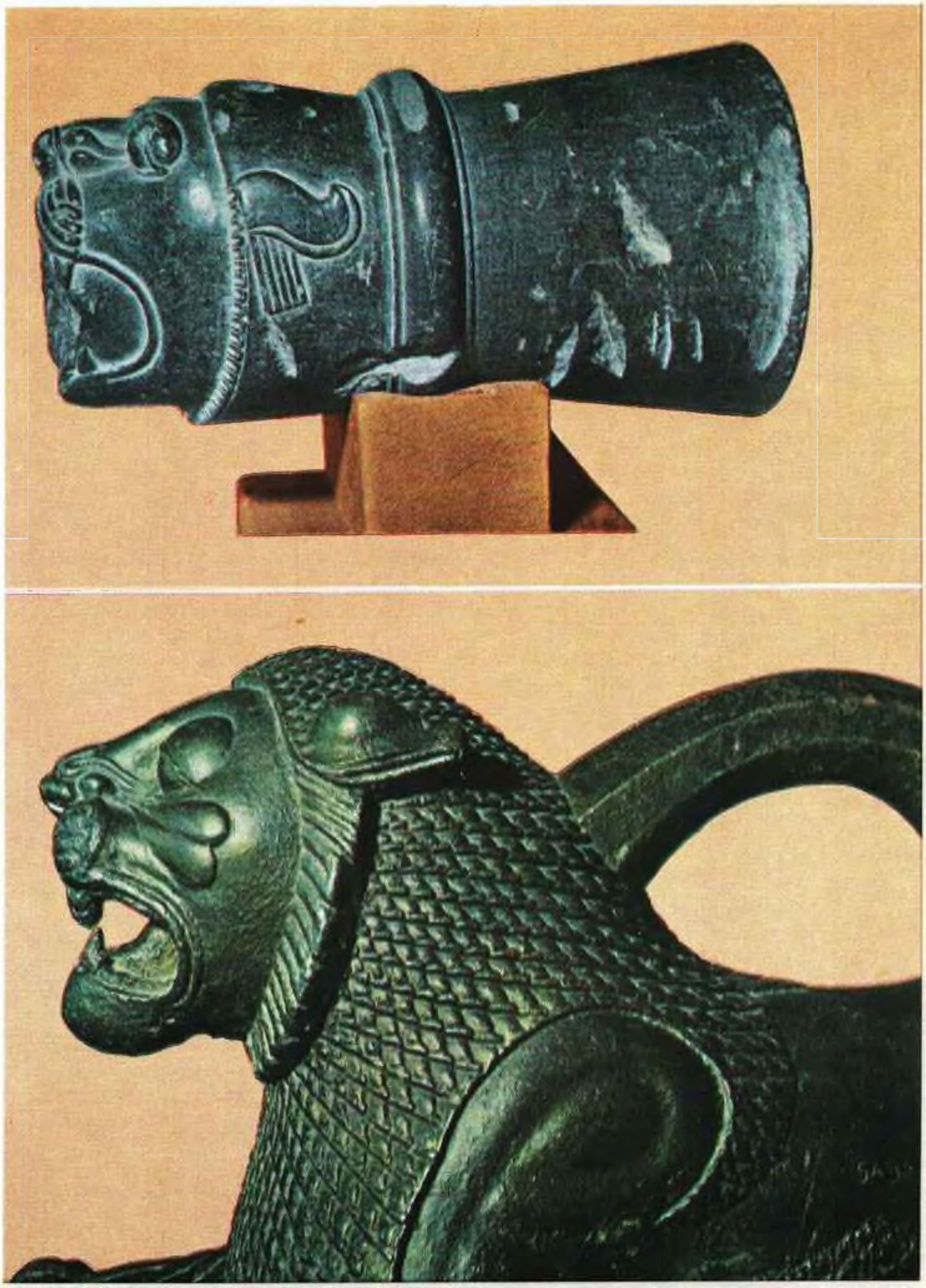


Plate 46 – Above: object of unknown use in the shape of a lion's head. Found in the 'Fratadara' building at Persepolis. Probably 5th century B.C. Greenish-black hard stone, probably limestone. *Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Length 23.5 cm, width 13 cm.* Below: weight in the shape of a lion from Susa (detail). Probably 5th century B.C. *Louvre, Paris. Entire length 53.5 cm; length of the lion 47.5. Cf. p. 162.*

from earlier prototypes, such as Assyrian stylizations of lions, but which is here rendered even more precisely and regularly with the Achaemenid love of well-ordered decorative forms. The monster's wing, which resembles an ostrich feather, and the upright crest, elsewhere associated with griffins, make of this lion a superhuman monster, a descendant of the lion griffins and demons of earlier centuries. Surely its strength was still considered powerful insurance of the safety of the royal drink.

To draw attention to the exceptional care lavished on details in this piece, one may point to the ribbing of the roof of the lion's open mouth. 'The vessel is hollow, but just where the neck of the lion rises there is a diaphragm that forms the end of the actual cup. The rhyton is not, of course, made from one sheet of metal but is composed of many parts, though it is exceedingly difficult to find any of the joins. The top band of the cup has been decorated with forty-four rows of twisted wires. They are no thicker than 0.18 millimetre in diameter and the small band no more than five-eighths of an inch wide. There must be at least 136 feet of single-strand wire, including allowance for twisting.'[34]

Golden dagger
PLATE 47 RIGHT

The golden dagger represented on the plate beside the rhyton is also said to have been found at Hamadan-Ecbatana. It may likewise have been a royal piece, although the Assyrian king Sennacherib already mentions in about 700 B.C. Elamite nobles 'who wore the golden girdle-dagger.'[35] The gold content of the piece is about 20 carats, and one might think that the blade would not be strong enough for actual use, but it has been strengthened by longitudinal ridges. 'The blade was broken in modern times; it was evidently cut by a blow from a sharp instrument such as the short, adze-like hoe of the Persian peasant, and then snapped asunder. The hilt, which, unlike the blade, is not solid, is shaped for an easy grasp...'[36] The lions' heads at the pommel and their paws on the quillon decorate the dagger and at the same time express the purpose of the weapon by emphasizing the tearing teeth of the lions and their deadly paws.

Ibex-shaped handles

PLATE 50
PLATE 48

In the representations of lions discussed here the uniformity in some of the works of Achaemenid art could be stressed. On the other hand, the following examples of ibexes will demonstrate the variety of styles in which one and the same motif could be rendered in the Achaemenid period. The motif is completely preserved in only one magnificent vessel in which two ibexes form the handles. This is probably a variation of the ancient motif of two ibexes flanking a tree. The winged ibex in the Louvre (Pl. 50, p. 171) has a counterpart in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.[37] The ibex seen in Plate 48[38] is a single piece whose exact attachment to a vessel cannot be established because the hind feet are broken off; on the forefeet, just below the knees, there is a slight groove which suggests that the figure was poised against the rim of the vessel at this point. The ends of the horns are filed off but polished smooth. Although the golden colour of the bronze appears here and at the knees, the patination of the piece indicates that the shortening of the horns must have taken place a long time ago. In the hollow-cast figure there is a casting hole and slight damage in the lower parts. Otherwise the bronze, covered with a rare, deep brown patination, is so well preserved that one might think the piece had never lain in the earth. Possibly the ibex once belonged to the ancient collection of the Austrian dukes at Ambras in the Tyrol and had passed through the hands of art-lovers from the day on which it was made.

The slender but powerful animal rears on its hind legs (now broken at the joints) and has its forelegs drawn up as if about to leap. Yet the figure does not

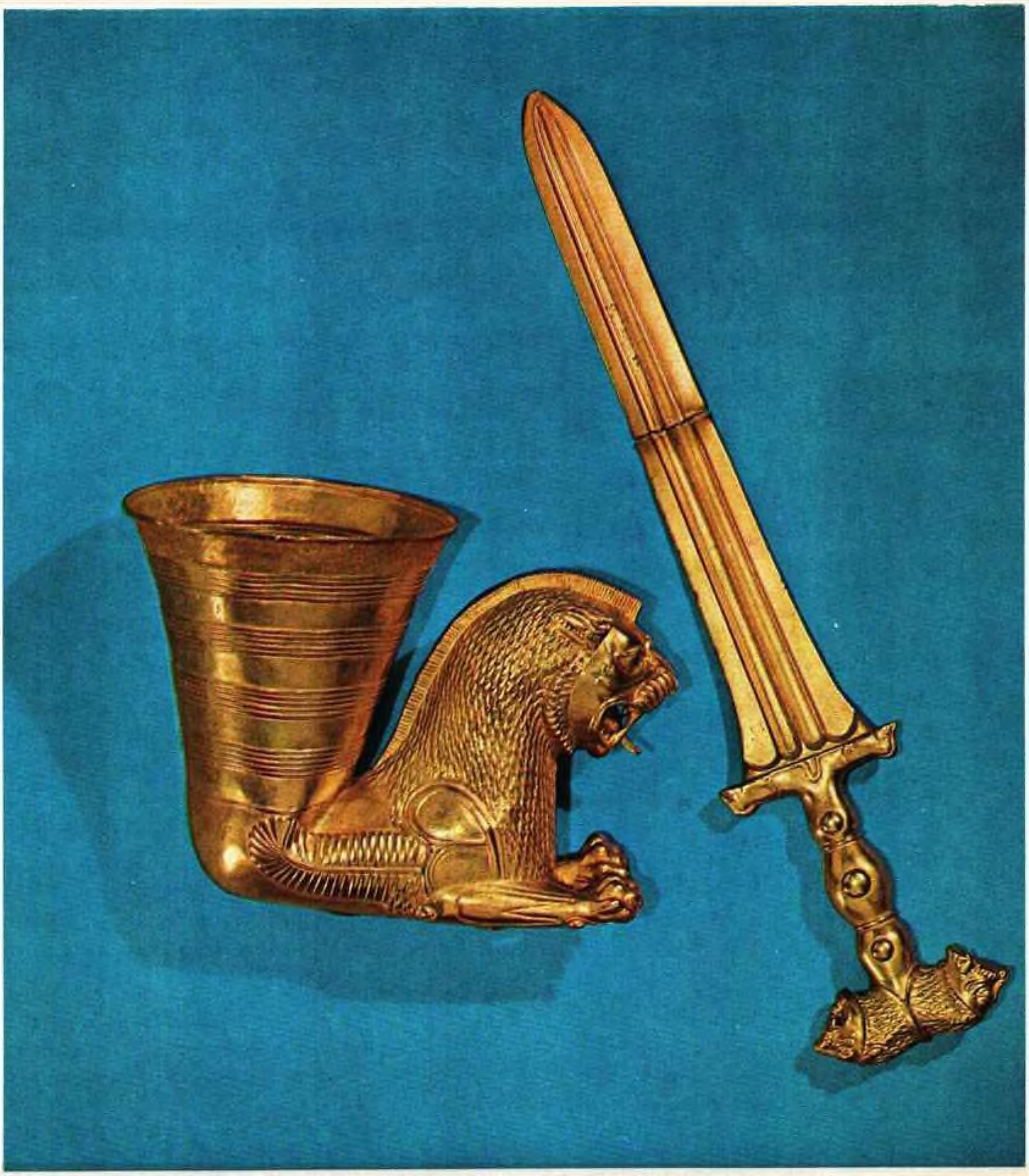


PLATE 47 – Left: gold drinking-vessel (rhyton) in the shape of a lion-monster, probably from Hamadan-Ecbatana. About 5th century B.C. *Height 16 cm, diameter of upper rim 14 cm, length of whole object from nose of lion to edge of beaker 24 cm.* Right: gold dagger with two lion heads at the pommel. *Entire length 43.2 cm, length of hilt 12.8 cm, width of hilt at the top 8.9 cm. Both objects in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Cf. pp. 162, 164, 170.*

give the impression of rendering a moment of swift forward movement but rather a stationary pose, to which the sweep of the horns must have contributed before the points were shortened. The animal must have looked into the vessel to which it was attached because the head is slightly lowered and all the lines, if continued, converge at a point slightly below the forelegs. The slight inclination of the head produces a supple movement in the entire body which can be seen from every side. The characteristic thickening of the ibex' horns is indicated in only two places and is stressed by a delicate V-shaped linear motif. On the inside the horns are undecorated, as is usual in these figures. The brow forms a ledge which rises to a slight point, almost giving the effect of a diadem above the eyes. The face is dominated by a long, pointed, almost human nose. Equally human are the large eyes, drawn as pointed ovals framed by thick lids, with the eyeball marked by a linear circle and the pupil by a dot. Thick crescent-shaped eyebrows with rounded ends curve over the eyes and are accompanied above and below by other curved lines, all of which stress the effect of the eyes. The fleshy upper lid protrudes over the smaller lower one, below which the beard, with softly undulating lines indicating the hair, forms a foil for the face.

Small dots are engraved on the eyebrows, the bags under the eyes, and the lips, and small V-shaped lines are placed on the forehead. They change the appearance of the surface almost imperceptibly and differentiate the single parts from each other. By some of these engraved lines the naturalistic features of the figure are stressed, as in the folds of skin on the forelegs. Other lines, however, serve for abstract stylization, such as the small V-shaped forms which indicate the hair along the slightly curved line of the back.

The motif of an ibex with human face was already known in Iran in the eighth century B.C., as may be seen on a situla; it may go back to very ancient concepts of hunting demons, shown on the stamp seals of the fourth millennium B.C. on page 31. In the Achaemenid rendering the human element is merely suggested, but this is sufficient to create the impression of a demonic creature. This half human-faced rendering of the ibex is limited to Iran and was not shown in the western provinces of the empire.

PLATE 15 LEFT

PLATE 5 MIDDLE

PLATE 49

The renderings of ibexes from the western parts of the Achaemenid empire, to be discussed here, do not show such a dignified conception of the animal's face. A striking contrast with the bronze ibex is offered by the ibexes which form the handles of the great vase reproduced here. The vessel, a combination of amphora and rhyton (the two short tubes at the bottom permit thin streams of liquid to flow out), was found in eastern Anatolia.[39] If we assume that the vase was made where it was found, we have to take into consideration the fact that the area is far from the 'modern' centres, even today, and that it has a very conservative character. Just as today, however, some utilities and appliances succeed in reaching the area, we may assume that in ancient times some influences from the contemporaneous Greek workshops may have reached the makers of the vase. The decoration of the vase seems to bear out this combination of traditional and 'modern' traits. The frieze of lotus-blossoms and palmettes on the shoulder of the vessel is worked in repoussé and gilded. The fairly conservative palmettes have sickle-shaped leaves which are almost comparable to much earlier examples from Ziwiye. The blossoms, on the other hand, have already undergone the transformation from the fully opened, multiple, thin-leaved forms of pre-Achaemenid patterns to forms which have only two very thick leaves, perhaps sepals, between which emerges a thin bud. The forms of these blossoms are

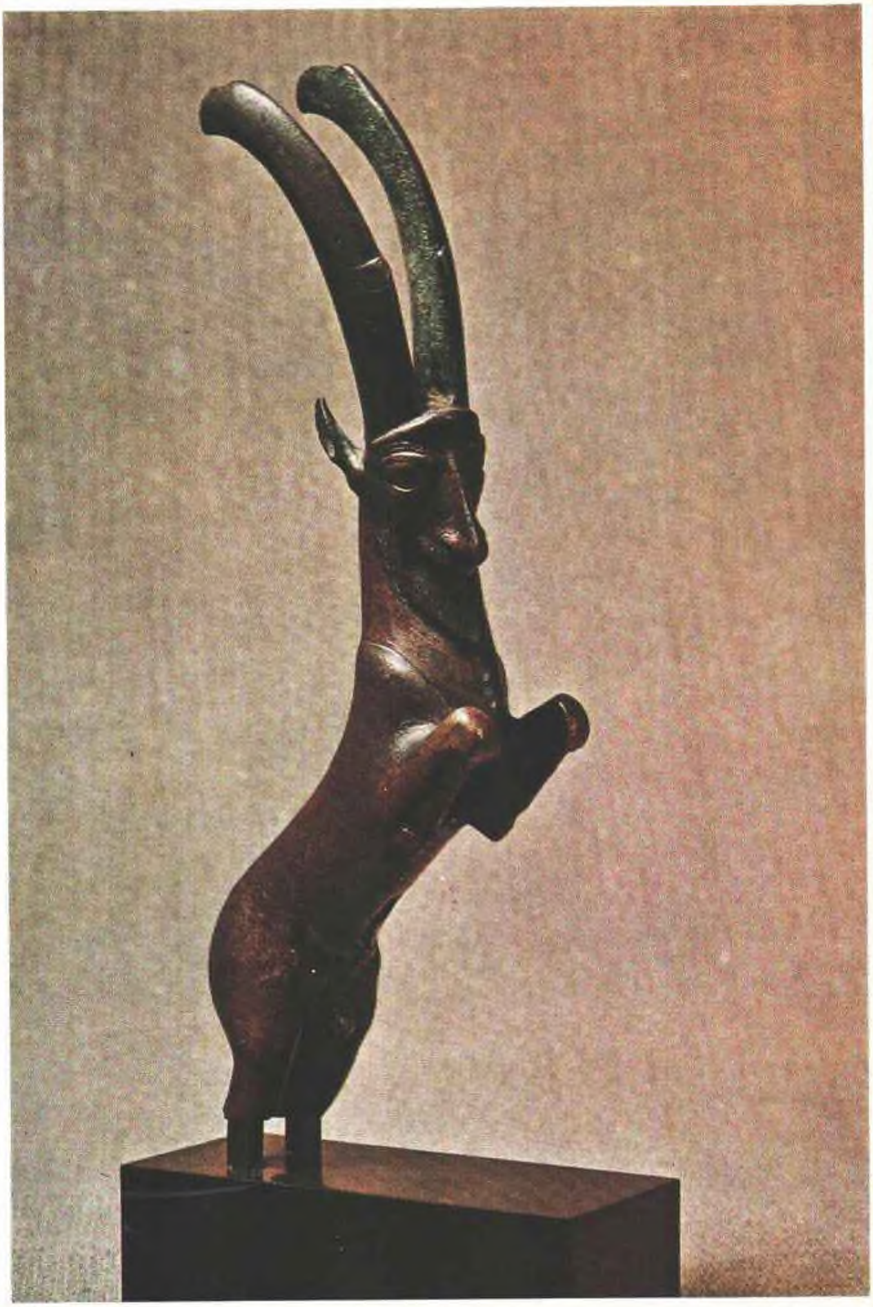


PLATE 48 – Bronze ibex, originally attached to a vessel. 5th or early 4th century B.C. *Private collection. Height 19.5 cm. Cf. p. 164.*

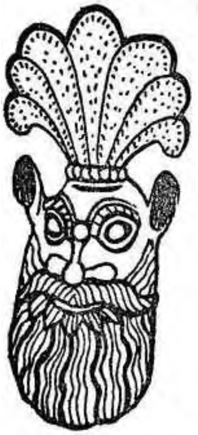


FIG. 86 – *Mask of the Egyptian god Bes from the base of the handle in ibex form reproduced in Plate 50.*

closer to Greek forms than to any blossoms rendered at Persepolis or in other objects so far known to have been excavated in Persia.[40]

The manes of the ibexes, indicated by long tufts of hair, also recall much earlier prototypes. As they are not derived from nature, they may be a heritage from earlier half-imaginary animals such as the bulls with curly manes seen on the Marlik beaker or on Urartian shields.[41] These curls of a different colour from the body make the ibexes appear more slender and delicate. Their short heads add to the impression of gracefulness characteristic of young animals, despite their large horns. The lines of their bodies, continued in the horns, draw the viewer's glance upward and thereby make the vessel appear lighter. Moreover, the handles create a harmonious complement to the shape of the vase. Perhaps preoccupation with the harmony of shapes and proportions should also be ascribed to influence from works of Greek art.

PLATE 50 In the winged ibex in the Louvre Greek influence is quite obvious. The sweep of the wings, which greatly enlarges the space occupied by the creature, alone indicates a new departure. In earlier Western Asiatic art figures have closed outlines and the space which they occupy is limited as far as possible. This new approach to space is evident in the Louvre ibex, despite the fact that the broken wing appears to have been reconstructed at a wider angle than in the original design. This is obvious from a comparison of the ibex in the Louvre with the one in Berlin, where the wing is still intact and points in the same direction as the rest of the body instead of diverging from it as freely as in our plate.[42] Nevertheless, even in their original lines the Louvre and Berlin ibexes create an impression of lightness, almost playfulness, which differs fundamentally from the powerful, masculine and almost demonic ibex of Iran. Surely different mental attitudes expressed themselves in these different artistic forms.

FIG. 86 The mask of the Egyptian god Bes, on which the hind feet of each ibex rest, shows Greek influence in the beard, which begins on the cheeks, and in the horse's ears, resembling those of Silenus. No other example is known of a similar use of a Bes mask. On a seal impression of the Achaemenid period from Ur, however, a Bes head is seen with a similar palmette head-piece, replacing the ostrich feathers of the original Egyptian renderings of this deity. This example indicates that the Louvre and Berlin ibexes would be correctly dated in the first half of the fourth century B.C.[43] The palmette, like the head-piece of the Bes mask, enables the ibex to stand upon it. The motif may have been influenced by renderings in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian objects which show horned animals standing on a palmette.[44]

As the ibex figures just discussed combine earlier motifs with influences from Greek style, so other works of Achaemenid times also show influences of different peoples. Thus an armlet from the Oxus Treasure manifests in some of its details the influence of the forms used by the northern nomads and of their artistic taste. The Oxus Treasure was discovered in 1877 in what is today the Turkmenian S.S.R., ancient Bactria. One version of the story of the find relates that the pieces of the treasure were found scattered in the sand near the ferry most frequently used to cross the Oxus river on the road to Samarkand. A second version named a site on a tributary of the Oxus; here the treasure was said to have been found on the site of a submerged city where the local inhabitants were in

PLATE 51 ABOVE

Armlet from Oxus Treasure

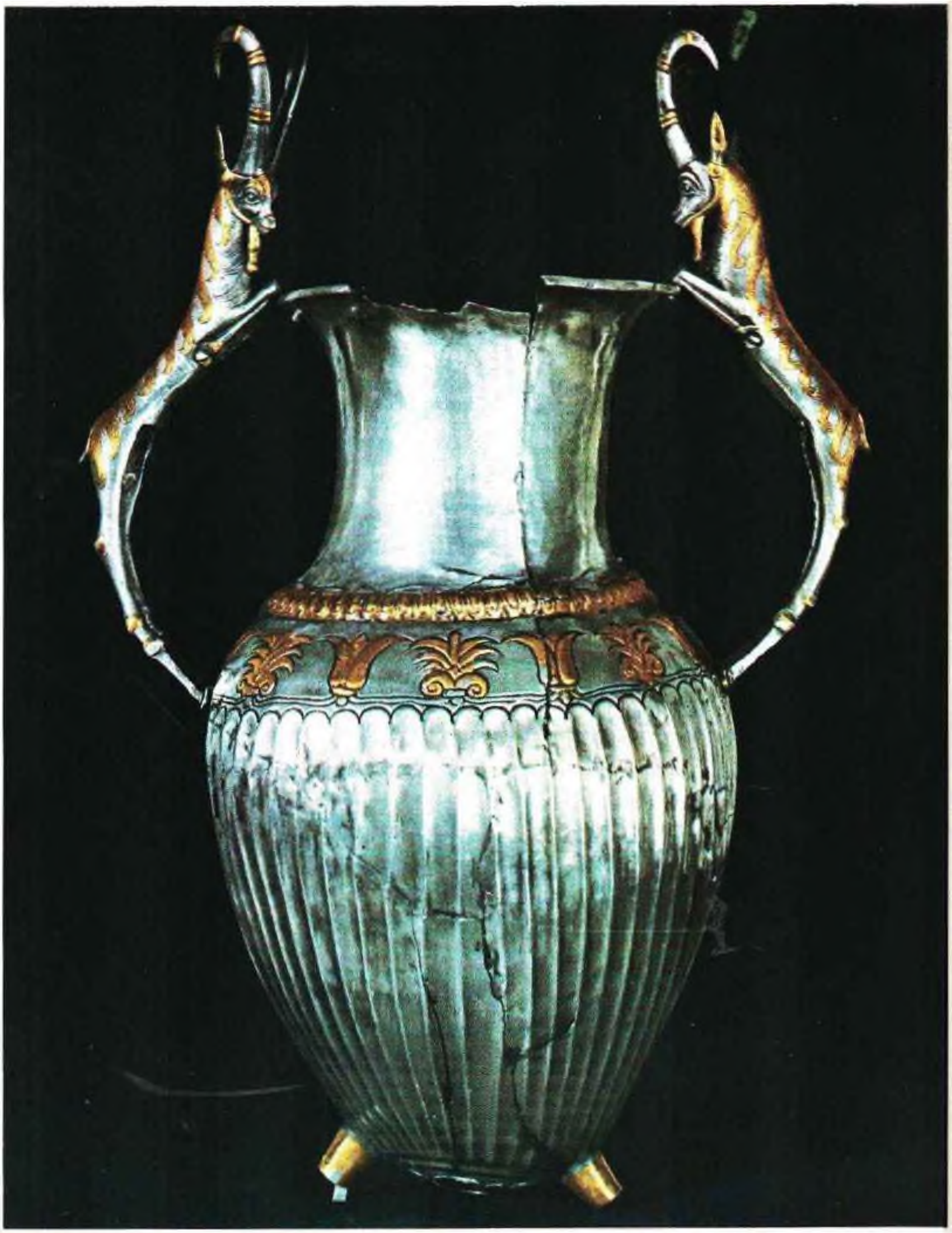


PLATE 49 – Fluted display vase (or rhyton) with handles in the shape of ibexes. Probably 5th to early 4th century B.C. Silver with partial gilding. *Private collection. Height to rim of vase 28.5 cm; entire height with handles 37 cm, diameter of mouth 13 cm, maximum diameter about 16.5 cm, height of each ibex figure about 21 cm. Cf. pp. 140, 166.*

FIG. 87

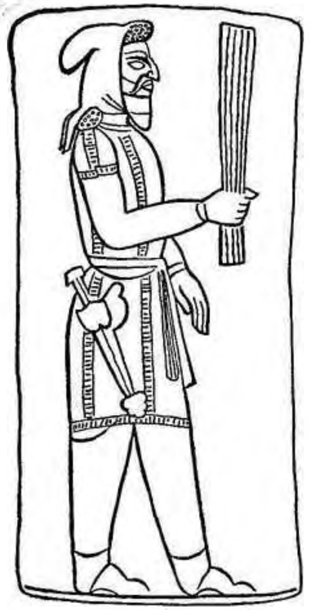


FIG. 87 – *Mede with barsom bundle. Gold plaque from the Oxus Treasure. British Museum.*

the habit of digging for treasure.[45] Ghirshman interprets the find as the treasure of a temple. In favour of this interpretation may be cited the numerous gold plaquettes with representations of men with a barsom (a bundle of rods used in the Zoroastrian ritual). To interpret the Oxus Treasure as consisting of votive gifts to a temple would well explain its heterogeneous works of art, which derive from different periods.

The armlet shown in Plate 51 is the better preserved of two identical and splendid pieces from this source. The shape, with a slight inward curve of the hoop in the middle of the armlet opposite the opening, corresponds to the jewellery actually worn in Achaemenid times. In the middle the hoop is almost solid, but it is tubular toward the ends, which are in the form of winged and horned griffins. The foreparts and wings of the monsters are rendered three-dimensionally, while the tail and the hind legs are worked in relief upon the surface of the hoop. The horns are flattened at the end to a cup shape. The main part of the horns, however, as well as the wings, neck and breast of the monsters, is divided up into fine applied cells or cloisons which were meant to receive inlays of coloured stones. But only one small piece of a blue stone, tentatively identified as *lazulite*, was preserved in one of the wing feathers.[46] On the legs and on the body of the monsters larger areas have been hollowed out. PLATE 47 These have the abstract shapes in which the principal leg and shoulder muscles of animals were stylized in the Achaemenid period, as was seen in several examples discussed above. On the foreleg there is the characteristic tulip, on the hind leg a circle and two comma-shaped forms. The colours of these armlets, with their relatively large inlays, must have been very striking.

Coloured felt appliqués from tombs in the region of the Altai mountains PLATE 51 ABOVE correspond in proportion and in shape to the inlays of the armlets. These appliqués were probably made locally, or at least outside of Iran. Yet they preserve Achaemenid and other motifs employed according to the taste of the region. Probably it is a taste for strong colours and probably also for abstract stylization — which we note in the armlets. Another characteristic feature of the armlet, which links it with the art of the northern nomads is the shape of the horns, with thickened flat or globular ends. This is never found in Western Asiatic art but can be documented in Scythian art.[47]

PLATE 51 BELOW Gold necklaces from Susa, found in an Achaemenid grave, show a more restrained use of the cloisonné technique in the Elymais, where it may well have originally been developed. The lions with upright ears and short heads may be young animals. When the ends of the necklaces appear all together, as they would when they were worn, they form a group of four lion cubs. Such a con-

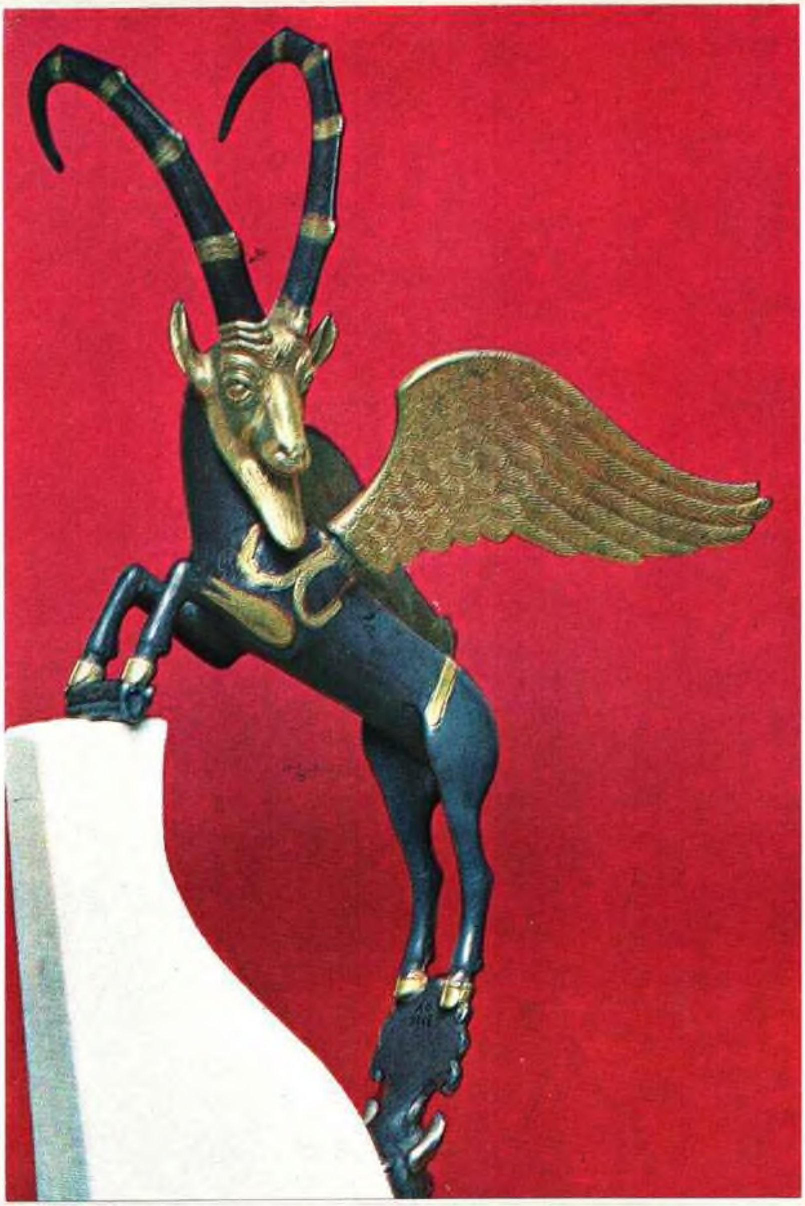


PLATE 50 – Winged ibex, originally the handle of a vessel. The animal stands with its hind feet on a mask of Bes which has a horse's ears and the beard of a Greek Silenus; see Fig. 86. 4th century B.C. Silver with partial gilding. *Louvre, Paris. Height 27.5 cm. Cf. pp. 164, 168.*

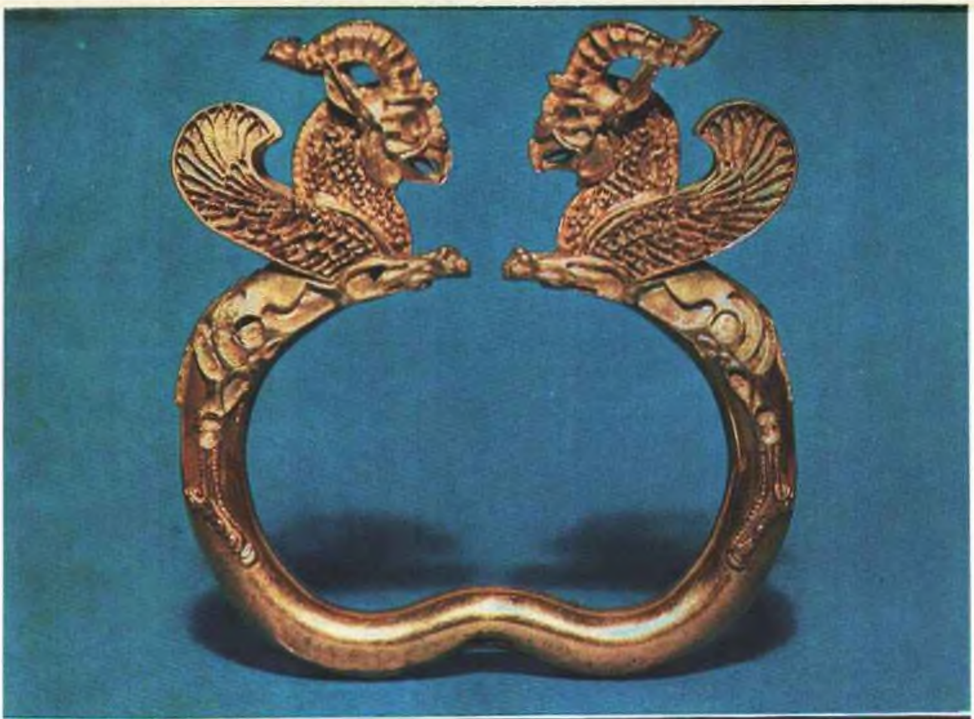
cept might express the interest in and understanding of animals which we may assume to have been present in an artist of the Achaemenid period despite the strong tendency to stylize natural forms which has been noted in this art.

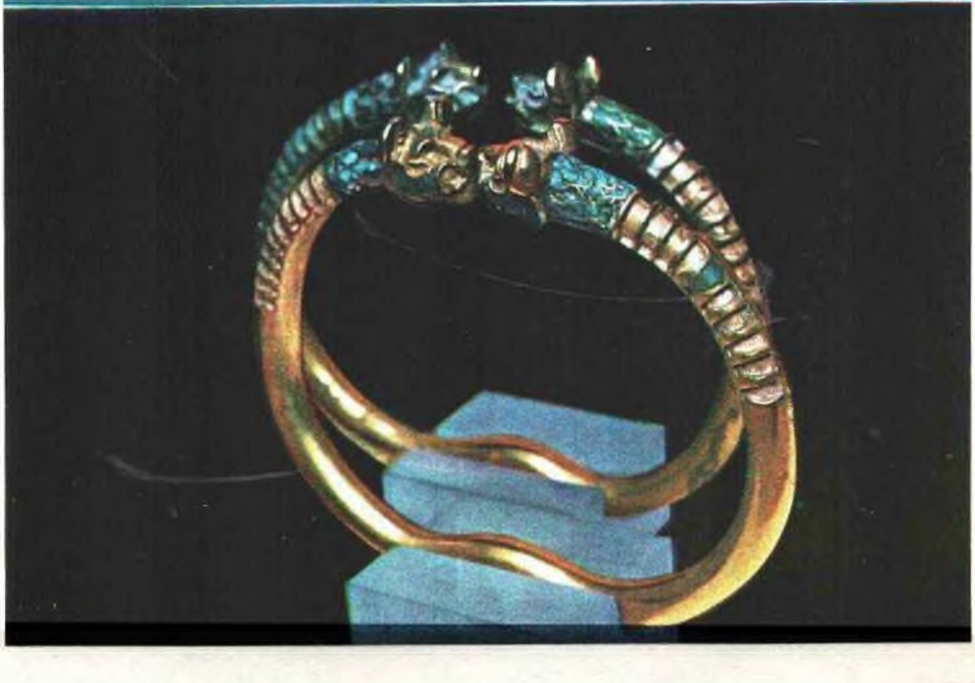
Gold appliqué with lion PLATE 52 One of the finest works of Achaemenid art is a gold appliqué presumably meant to be sewn on a garment, a roundel with a lion, belonging to a treasure which was probably found at Hamadan-Ecbatana and which, according to Helene J. Kantor, may be dated in the earlier half of the fourth century B.C. Her description is cited here: 'Restrained within the circuit of a slender twisted cord, a lithe-bodied lion, transfigured by the glory of a great upsweeping wing, turns as if in snarling defiance of pursuers. The forelegs are still stretched in the stride of the walk just ceased, while the hind quarters seem already tensed for possible battle; the curious small horns and the ear are bent back sullenly and threateningly; the tail lashes. Actually, it is only such details of rendering which give the design its particular vividness, for it is but a variant of one of the commonest of Achaemenid Persian decorative motifs — the winged beast turning back its head.' 'The lion roundel is executed with that shining smoothness of modelled surfaces and with that gracefully curving, sharp definition of borders and edges which are typical of both the best of Achaemenid sculpture and toreutic. Those geometricized designs, which were particularly suitable for cloisonné ornaments but were also common in repoussé metal-work, are here used with noteworthy restraint. Thus, the resulting contrast between the broad smooth surfaces of the lion's body and the intricately subdivided wing and head heightens the effect of each. This contrast joins with the skilful composition of opposing curves and the intricate balance of the figure within its circular frame to form one of the most sophisticated and lively achievements of the Achaemenid goldsmiths.'[48] We may merely add here that the goldsmith seems to have had in mind also the purpose for which the roundel was made, namely, its application to a presumably strongly coloured material. Not only are the filled and unfilled areas subtly balanced but the abstract shapes of the unfilled areas create a varied and pleasing design.

COINS Some of the precious objects now known of the Achaemenid period surely formed part of the royal treasure. Their beauty of form would make them suited for display. But for payments in the western part of the empire and often for bribery, gold was also struck into coins called by the Greeks *dareikoi*, according to tradition the coins of Darius the Great. These coins were also called 'archers', after the image of a kneeling royal archer represented on the obverse, and are said to have provided even the Great King with some of his military successes — especially against the Ionic towns of Asia Minor.

PLATE 53 TOP LEFT The majority of these coins show the royal archer, who holds in the left hand a strung bow and in the right a spear with globular end. One knee is bent forward, not in the typically Near Eastern manner, almost describing a right angle, but in a posture that is less clearly defined since the Achaemenid robe hides the knee,

PLATE 51 – Above: gold armlet from the Oxus Treasure with the foreparts of horned griffins at the open ends. The hollows in the bodies and cloisons of wings, necks and horns originally held inlays, now lost. 5th to 4th century B.C. *Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Height 12.3 cm, width 11.5 cm.* Below: pair of golden torques with lions' heads at the ends. Some of the inlays in the cloisonné are still preserved. Found in an Achaemenid grave → at Susa. 4th century B.C. *Louvre, Paris. Diameter about 20 cm. Cf. pp. 168, 170.*





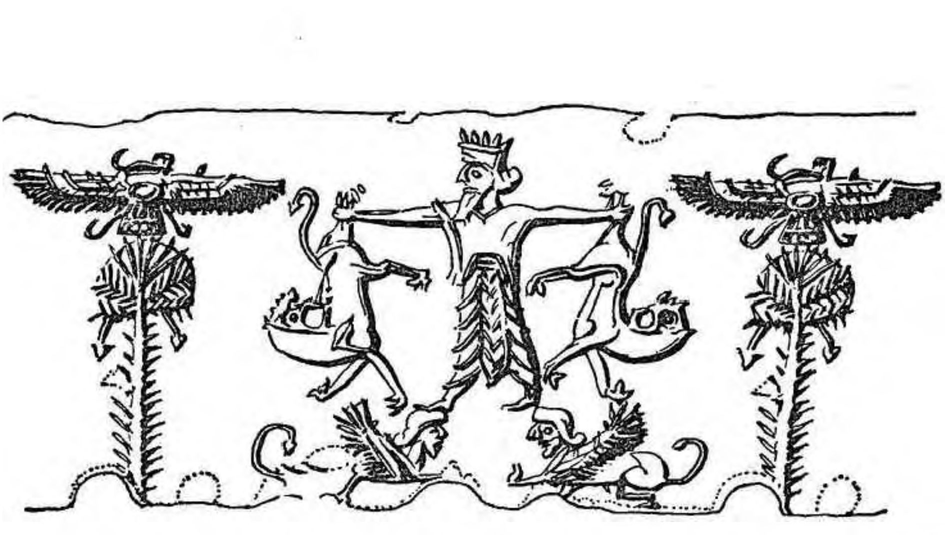


FIG. 88 – *Impression of an Achaemenid cylinder seal: the royal hero standing on sphinxes raises lions in a gesture of triumph. Morgan Library, New York.*

around which it describes a curve. The archer is bearded and wears a tiara decorated with spikes, surely a simplified rendering of the battlements noted on the crown of Darius at Bisutun. He wears a long and belted robe. If this description which refers to a late *dareikos* is correct, then the rendering of the royal robe differs from those seen at Persepolis and at other purely Persian sites, where only small sections of a belt are occasionally visible.

At any rate, the shape of the garment alone indicates the non-Persian origin of the coin type. Moreover, the stylization of the garment, which conforms to the archaic Greek style of the sixth century B.C., shows that the die-maker was under strong Greek influence. No changes were made in this coin type in the Achaemenid dynasty since the rulers obviously understood the importance of retaining a coin type once it had been introduced.

Portraits[49] and other coin types of some of the satraps belong to the finest products of Greek art in the field of die-cutting. However, they will not be discussed here since they do not belong to the specifically Persian art with which we are concerned.

SEALS

The seals of the Achaemenid period — cylinders, stamp seals and seal-rings — reflect the different stylistic trends which became united in the Achaemenid empire, ranging from Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian tradition to the 'modern' Greek style. Here we shall give examples only of the typically Persian style on cylinder seals. Such seals were used for official purposes by the early Achaemenid rulers, Darius I (522–486 B.C.) to Artaxerxes I (465–424 B.C.), while private persons had seal-rings or stamp seals.[50] The use of the cylinder seal in early Achaemenid times is all the more interesting because it had already been largely replaced by the stamp seal in Babylonia, the country where cylinder seals had originated at a very early period. In Assyria stamp seals were used as official royal seals from the time of Sargon (721–705 B.C.).

Perhaps the Elamites retained cylinder seals longer than the Babylonians and in turn the Persians inherited the custom from the Elamites. Evidence of Elamite

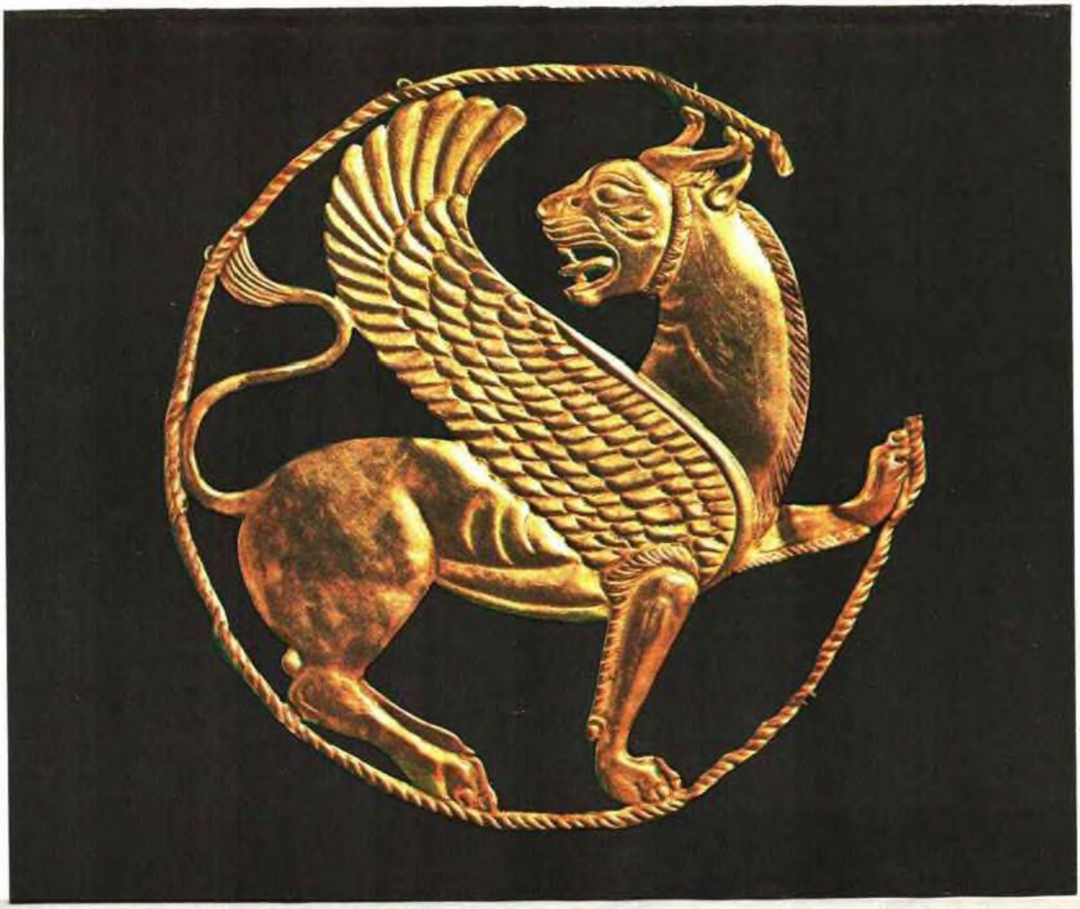


PLATE 52 – Ornament for a textile in gold repoussé in the form of a winged, horned lion surrounded by a hoop of twisted gold wire. On the reverse are 16 loops for attachment. Probably from Hamadan-Ecbatana. 4th century B.C. *Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago. Diameter 11.5 cm. Cf. p. 172.*

heritage is given by the cylinder seal in Figure 88. There the king stands on sphinxes and raises in a gesture of triumph two lions by the hind legs. The compositional scheme is quite similar to that of an Elamite cylinder of the thirteenth century B.C. and to the design of Elamite tiles of slightly later date. A related vertical composition is also found in a seal-ring from Luristan of the early first millennium B.C. In Mesopotamia such a vertical composition occurs only in rare phases, as in Mitannian and Late Kassite glyptic art of the fifteenth to thirteenth century B.C., and in a few Neo-Babylonian cylinders.

FIG. 88

FIG. 27

PLATE 14 BELOW

FIG. 48

In order to explain the use of cylinder seals by the Achaemenids, one should also mention the fact that the relatively large seal-stones were often capped with gold foil at both ends and that they were more impressive instruments than the smaller stamps. In the Persian mind the cylinder seal may have been linked with a powerful administration on the Assyro-Babylonian model, no matter whether stamp seals began to be favoured in Late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times or not.

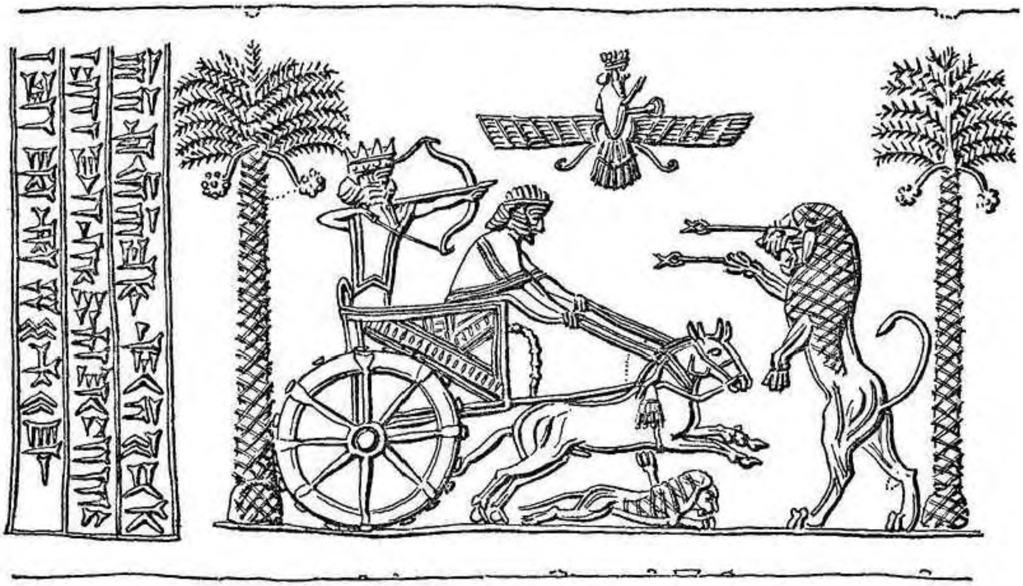
Most of the fine Persian cylinder seals were made of translucent light blue chalcedony, deep blue lapis lazuli or other colourful stones. The seals made of humbler materials, brownish-pink or grey or black limestone, steatite or even baked clay, were probably owned by officials of lower rank than those who could afford the finest stones.

In addition to the ordinary cylindrical shape, stamp cylinders were used in the Achaemenid empire. Seals of this type had some means of suspension at the top and were engraved not only on the circumference of the cylinder but also on the base. This seal form was typical of the Urartians.[51] Like other Urartian elements, it could have been handed down to the Achaemenids by the Medes. However, the Median stamp cylinders have not yet been clearly separated from the Achaemenid ones.[52]

FIG. 88 In Figure 88 the king is represented as a superhuman hero who stands on demonic creatures like sphinxes and easily, almost playfully, swings powerful and dangerous lions by the hind legs. The possible meaning of such renderings, to reinforce the political position of the king by iconographic means, was mentioned on page 159.

FIG. 89 A more factual rendering of the heroic courage and irresistible power of the king is shown by a cylinder found in Egypt which bears the name and title 'Darius, Great King', inscribed in Persian, Elamite and Babylonian. There can be no doubt that the Darius here named was Darius the Great. The board-like

FIG. 89 – *Impression of an Achaemenid cylinder seal inscribed with the name of Darius, found at Thebes.*



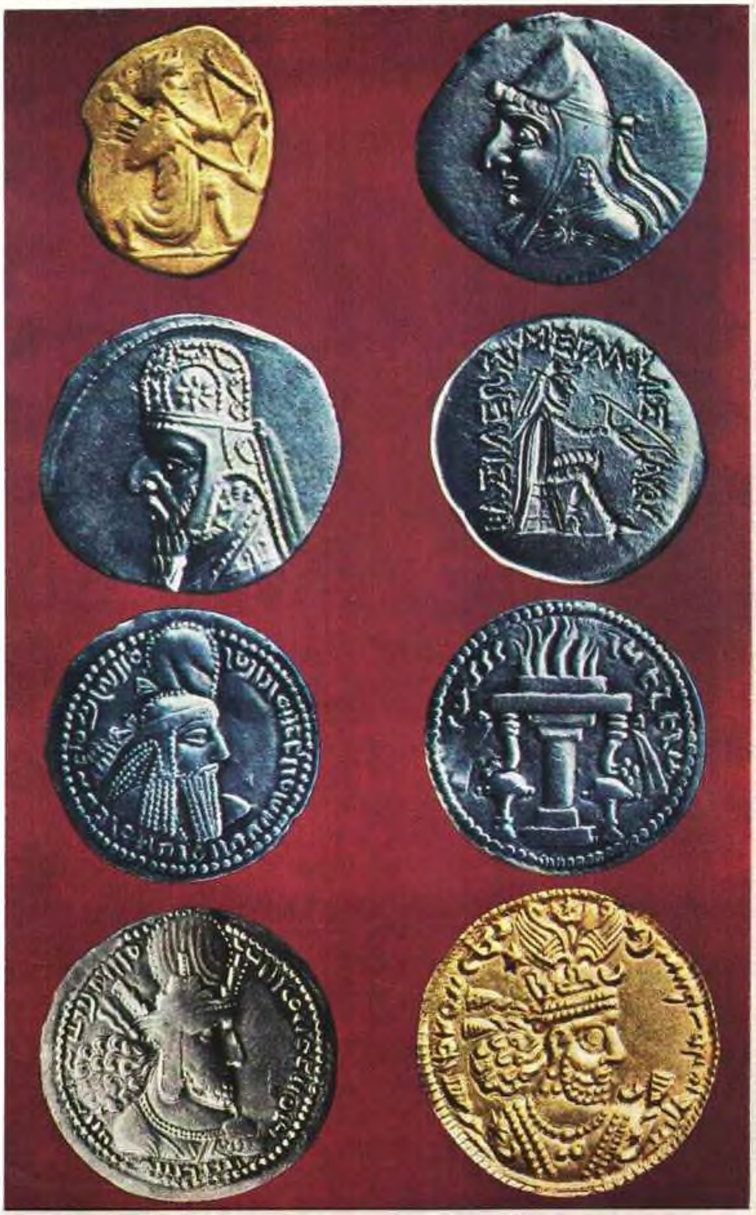


Plate 53 – Above, left: Achaemenid gold *daric*. 5th century B.C. *Maximum diameter 1.8 cm*. Above, right: early Parthian silver *drachma*. Possibly Mithradates I (*c*. 171-138 B.C.). *Maximum diameter 2.1 cm*. Second from above, left: Parthian silver *drachma* of Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) with his portrait. *Maximum diameter 2.2 cm*. Second from above, right: reverse of a *drachma* of Mithradates I representing Arsaces. *Maximum diameter 1.9 cm*. Second from below, left: silver *drachma* of Ardashir I (A.D. 224-241). *Maximum diameter 2.6 cm*. Right: reverse of coin, showing a fire altar. Below, left: silver *drachma* of Shapur I (A.D. 241-272). *Maximum diameter 2.8 cm*. Right: gold *denarius* of Khusraw II (A.D. 590-628). *Maximum diameter 2.2 cm. All coins are in the possession of the American Numismatic Society, New York. Cf. pp. 172, 187, 199, 200.*

wings of the Ahura Mazda symbol can be compared with similar renderings in the relief of Bisutun and in the façade of the rock-cut tomb of Darius and his successors. In these reliefs the shape of the wings differs from the more elegant form given them in the reliefs of the Tripylon, which were probably carved at the end of Darius' reign, though a date in the early years of Xerxes is also possible. However, the cylinder with Darius represented on it and with his name engraved upon it was not the personal seal of the king but probably belonged to one of the highest officials of the empire. Other cylinders with a rendering of the king and with his name inscribed on the seal-stone can be shown to have belonged to high officers at Persepolis.

FIGS. 77, 81

PLATE 44 RIGHT

FIG. 84

In the cylinder from Egypt Darius is represented standing beside his charioteer in a chariot drawn by two horses. The king is shooting arrows at a lion which rears up on his hind legs like a half-human demonic being comparable to the lion of the plaque from Ziwiye. The corpse of a second lion, rendered on a smaller scale, lies under the feet of the horses. Two date-palms frame the scene. In the sky between their crowns appears the symbol of Ahura Mazda exactly above the dead lion below. This may be accidental, but it may also be an intentional pictorial reference to the protective power of Ahura Mazda. It is curious that the dead lion still extends his paws. This may illustrate the dangerous tenacity of the beast; it is also possible, however, that this posture was meant to characterize the beast as the same lion that opposes the king. This would prefigure Sasanian representations which show the king's quarry both alive and dead, betokening the royal victory as a foregone conclusion.

FIG. 71

In contrast to the two cylinders so far discussed, in which the field is filled fairly uniformly, another type of cylinder shows only the figure of a bull. The elegant lines, the clear stylization of the body, the smooth and slightly modelled planes remind one of the reliefs of Persepolis. If Greek influence is present, as some scholars maintain,[53] the combination of the artistic intent of Greeks and Persians has created here a very noble form.

FIG. 90

PLATE 43 BELOW

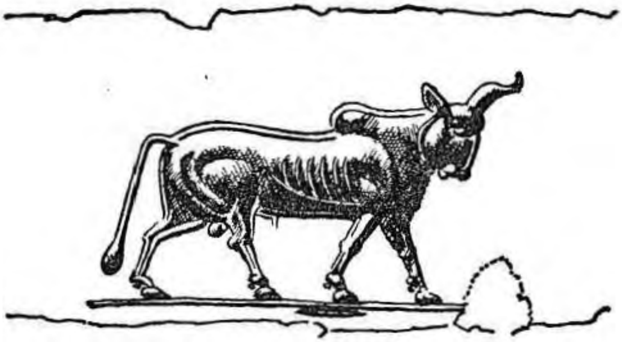


FIG. 90 – *Impression of an Achaemenid cylinder seal showing a walking bull. Morgan Library, New York.*

XIII. THE ART OF THE SELEUCIDS

HISTORICAL SURVEY

After the victory over the last Darius at Gaugamela in 331 B.C., the Macedonian, Alexander, was considered the *Great King* by many Persians. The people of Babylon scattered flowers in the path of the young conqueror; Susa with its riches yielded without resistance. At Persepolis he must have found vast treasures; but in the fourth month of his stay at Persepolis, its buildings went up in flames. The modern excavators of the site found evidence of pillaging which preceded the fire. This pillaging and destruction of Persepolis may well have been executed with the acquiescence of Alexander by his soldiers. Even if he had not planned the complete annihilation of the residence, lack of water on the terrace would have made it impossible to extinguish a fire raging in these buildings, with their wood panelling and ceilings and heavy curtains.

Persepolis was the only Persian site which was destroyed by Alexander, surely because of its great significance for the Achaemenid dynasty; otherwise he can be called a founder of cities in which Greeks and Persians came to live side by side.[1] His great plan to unite and rule Greece, Egypt and Asia in a vast empire and to establish a real cultural, social and economic unity of Asia and Europe died with him in Babylon in 323 B.C.

After the wars of the Diadochi which followed upon his death, the countries of Iran, Mesopotamia, northern Syria and the greater part of Asia Minor came to be ruled by Seleucus, one of Alexander's former generals, who continued the policy of unification of Greeks and Persians. He had married a Persian noblewoman and was fortunate in having a son, Antiochus, who seems to have been a gifted military leader and administrator and who consolidated the rule of the Seleucid dynasty which his father had inaugurated. The dynasty was able to maintain itself in Iran and Mesopotamia until the middle of the second century B.C. From about 240 onward, however, the Seleucids were under increasing pressure from a semi-nomadic people, later called Parthians, who penetrated into Iran from the north-east.

Moreover, the satrap of Bactria, a province which approximately corresponded geographically to what is today northern Afghanistan and Turkestan, made himself independent about the middle of the third century B.C. The Bactrian kingdom, which appears to have been a focal point for Hellenistic influences in surrounding areas,[2] was destroyed in the second century B.C. by the invasion of Scythian nomads and other tribes from Central Asia.[3] Only in Syria were the Seleucids able to maintain themselves until the middle of the first century B.C.

The most important aspect of their rule in Iran was the urban life developed in the cities newly founded by the Seleucids or re-established by them. The Achaemenid system of communications seems to have been maintained, and travel and trade on the road between Seleucia on the Tigris in Mesopotamia and Bactra in Bactria seem to have been further facilitated by newly-founded cities along this route. Beyond it there were apparently few major Seleucid settlements, though such an old centre as Susa played its role as a *polis* in Seleucid times. Greek replaced Aramaic as the most important common language and was used even in places where Greeks are not known to have settled in large numbers. But Aramaic must have continued in some manner, for eventually the Iranian language was written with Aramaic signs. Frye thought that the explanation probably was that the Seleucids kept on the Aramaic chancellery of the

Achaemenids. Though this cannot be proved at present, the suggestion may be retained because other cultural features also survived from pre-Hellenistic to later Iranian times through the medium of the Seleucid rule, which seems so alien to the superficial observer. In fact it was a period in which some branches of traditional intellectual activities reached new heights. This can be proved for astronomy by the elaborate astronomical texts on cuneiform tablets of the Seleucid period discovered in the ancient Mesopotamian cities of Uruk and Babylon.[4]

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Art and architecture must have been employed to enhance the prestige of the rulers, to serve religious purposes and even to grace the homes of the numerous wealthy citizens of Iran in the Seleucid period. Few remains of the period, however, are known at present. In fact, only two rather barbaric Ionian columns, remains of a structure at Khurha near Qum, are admitted generally to belong to the Seleucid period.[5]

At Kangawar near Kermanshah, remains of a large structure with masonry of 'huge square stones' above which was a colonnade were assigned by Herzfeld to the Seleucid period on the basis of presumed differences from Parthian building methods; these, however, are not known from any indubitably Parthian building of Iran. Of the temple which Antiochus III ordered to be built in Nihavend for the cult of his wife Laodicea, nothing remains. Presumably Seleucid structures followed Greek tradition in the use of good stone, well-dressed masonry, and marble or limestone columns, all of which were surely plundered by the local peasantry, who are avid for worked stone in most parts of the Near East.

Mud-brick structures would escape more easily; indeed they have been preserved below the Persepolis terrace in a complex excavated by Herzfeld, who believed one of the rooms to be a fire temple planned according to earlier Achaemenid fire sanctuaries. That some of the rooms in the complex had a religious significance is likely in view of Herzfeld's discovery of votive inscriptions addressed to Greek gods who took the place of the Iranian ones, '*Zeus Megistos* instead of Ohrmizd, *Apollon* and *Helios* for Mithra, *Artemis* and *Queen Athena* for "Anāhit whose name is Lady".'[6] In the jambs of a stone window-frame belonging to one of the rooms of the complex — but not to the one identified as a fire temple — were found the reliefs of a male and a female figure with raised hands and barsom bundle. Herzfeld considered the male figure to represent a *fratadara*, keeper of the fire, a title supposedly assumed by princes of Fars who considered themselves successors to the Achaemenids since names like Darius and Artaxerxes stressed Achaemenid tradition. The title has also been read *frataraka*, which would be the equivalent of governor, a more prosaic interpretation.

FIG. 91

The relief of these two figures is crude, and details are merely indicated by engraved lines. Although one cannot call so inept a manner of carving a style, it nevertheless manifests a distinctly Iranian quality, for the later reliefs of the Parthian age are similarly flat and crude. Apparently only the content, not the form, was important for certain purposes, mainly religious ones.

Only fragments are preserved of large and handsome bronze sculptures of the

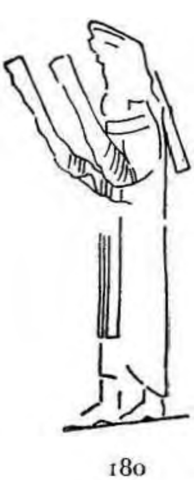
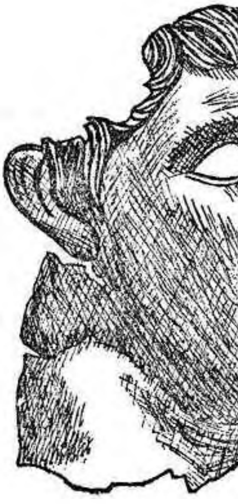


FIG. 91 – *Male figure carved on the jamb of a window in a post-Achaemenid building at Persepolis.*

FIG. 92 – *Fragmentary bronze head from Shami identified with Antiochus IV (175–163 B.C.).*



Seleucid period, especially the male head identified with Antiochus IV (176–163 B.C.). These fragments, as well as smaller works of Hellenistic art, figurines of deities,[7] indicate the extensive use of metal for the art of the period. It is likely that this extensive use of metal resulted in the destruction of all such works of art not accidentally preserved, since metal was probably re-used in the ancient Near East more consistently and with greater disregard for artistic values of the past than in any other part of the world.

Some concepts of Seleucid art and its double heritage of Hellenistic and ancient Near Eastern style and subject-matter can, however, be gained from a study of seal impressions on tablets and bullae of this age. The subject-matter of the imprints includes the entire figure, bust, or only the head of Greek deities or heroes, portraits of the Seleucid rulers, masks, symbolic objects like the tripod of Apollo or the specially Seleucid symbol of the anchor, used by Seleucus together with the head of a horse as his personal symbol. Occasionally there are entire scenes of religious significance or from daily life, and there are also animals and monsters.[8]

It is not always possible to distinguish clearly between Hellenistic style and the traditional style of the ancient Near East. The latter is mainly noticeable in the rendering of monsters like the goat-fish (Latin: *capricornus*), which shows little change of its characteristic simple outline from Neo-Babylonian through Achaemenid to Seleucid times. Rostovtzeff pointed out that creatures like the goat-fish or the crab are signs of the zodiac and that their occurrence on seals may indicate the significance of astrology in the life of the Hellenistic Babylonians.[9] Though the signs are of very ancient origin, they may indeed have assumed an astrological meaning in the Hellenistic period. At that time personal astrology emerged, perhaps in Babylon, under Hellenistic influence and as a new development from the old astronomical omens and the predictions based on them which had concerned only the king and the country as a whole. Thus 'the one science which gave insight into the causes of events on earth,'[10] in the opinion of Hellenistic scholars, demonstrates the fusion of Near Eastern and Greek elements which resulted from Alexander's conquests. FIG. 93

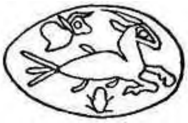


FIG. 93 – *Impression of a Seleucid seal showing a goat-fish and other symbols. Ashmolean Museum no. 1930.576*

XIV. THE ART OF THE PARTHIANS

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Domination of Iran and Mesopotamia was wrested from the Seleucids by the Parthians, a people said to have been originally a Scythian tribe but who obtained the name by which they are known in world history from the eastern Iranian province of Parthava. The province already existed in Achaemenid times and only some time after the middle of the third century B.C. was it occupied by this new Central Asiatic people. According to Strabo, the leader of this people was Arsaces, who became the putative ancestor of the Arsacid kings of Parthia. The occupation of Parthava and other more northerly provinces followed by only a few years the revolt of Diodotus, the satrap of Bactria, who made himself independent of the Seleucid empire, the impending disintegration of which was marked by these events.[1]

The first Parthian ruler of importance was Mithradates I (*c.* 171–138/7 B.C.), who succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over the small principalities which occupied most of Iran and Mesopotamia. The wealthy town of Seleucia on the Tigris, the one-time capital of the Seleucids, seems to have made a deal with the Parthians, because no military garrison was placed inside its walls. Instead the Parthians built opposite her on the left bank of the Tigris a large military camp which was later called Ctesiphon and became the residence of the Parthian court.

Seleucia, however, continued as an important metropolis, a fact well illustrated by the use which Mithradates I made of its formerly Seleucid mint with Greek die-cutters; these the Parthian king employed for a fine series of coins of his own, on which he called himself *the Philhellene* for the benefit of his Greek subjects, newly incorporated whithin the expanding frontiers of the Parthian realm. On coins minted earlier in his reign and bearing a more life-like portrait than the idealized version from Seleucia, Mithradates I called himself 'Great King', thereby manifesting the Parthian claim to the heritage of the Achaemenids. Instead of the massive military campaigns of the Achaemenids toward the west, however, the method and direction of Parthian expansion took the form of caravan trade toward the east.

Mithradates II

Within the territory of Mithradates II (123–88/87 B.C.) — the ablest of the Parthian rulers — caravan trade could proceed unhampered from Dura Europos in Syria to Merv in Turkmenistan. From there the caravans would continue to Central Asia until they reached the place where Chinese merchants or their envoys took over the wares for further transport to the Far East. Tentatively this place has been identified as Tashkurgan on the upper Yarkand river. Riches brought in through trade accumulated in the treasuries of the Parthian empire. Its economic importance in the second century B.C. is documented by a delegation sent to the Parthian capital by the Han emperor Wu-ti (141–87 B.C.).

Caravan trade

The protection of this caravan trade against attacks by predatory mounted nomads required constant vigilance on the part of the Parthian cavalry, whose single-mounted archers probably often had to use their own initiative in a precarious situation. The cavalry could best be maintained by a feudal system in which the army depended on the mobility and valour of the knights and their bowmen. This is the convincing explanation given by Rostovtzeff for the maintenance of a feudal system by the Parthians instead of a centralized autocratic system, such as that of the Achaemenids or Seleucids, which would have seemed more efficient to most modern historians.[2] Apparently some Romans, among them Julius Caesar, took a similarly disparaging view of the Parthian social system and its military strength, because they advocated war against Parthia. For this purpose Crassus was made governor of Syria, in the hope of capturing rich booty in a quick military venture against Iran. In the battle of Carrhae, however, Crassus was decisively beaten by the heavy cavalry of Parthian knights, the Cataphracti, and their light mounted bowmen. No book about the Parthians omits the report of Plutarch according to which the head and hand of Crassus were brought in by messengers while the Parthian king Orodes and his ally, the king of Armenia, were watching a performance of *The Bacchantes* by Euripides. In announcing the victory, the head of Crassus was thrown on to the stage. The story was meant to reflect the contrast between Hellenistic culture and barbaric military practices in Asia.

Carrhae

The consequences of the battle of Carrhae inside Parthia are equally revealing of conditions in that country. The victorious general Suren, head of the greatest feudal family in Iran, was executed to forestall a possible bid for the throne by this successful leader. Here the drawbacks of the feudal system become obvious. Lack of a strong central power prevented the Parthian empire from achieving a position of enduring strength in relation to Rome, although wars of greater or lesser importance were carried on between the two powers until the end of Parthian rule in A.D. 244, after which the Sasanians inherited the hostility toward the Roman West.

Little is known about foundations of towns in Iran by the Parthians, since the sources for the internal history of this period are very fragmentary. There are some indications, however, of increased settlement at that time, at least in Khuzistan, where a systematic survey of the settlement pattern has been made.[3] Darabgird, in Fars, and Takht-i Suleiman, the ancient Shiz in Azerbaijan — romantically associated by some with the legend of the Holy Grail — have been considered Parthian foundations, although the first-mentioned site has not been excavated and the latter has not yet yielded any Parthian remains.[4] The only Iranian town which was certainly founded in Parthian times, though at the very end of the period, is Firuzabad in Fars, built by the Sasanian Ardashir when he prepared his insurrection against his Parthian overlord Ardavan V (221/2–224). The circular fortification wall which surrounds Firuzabad resembles the rounded circumvallation of the Parthian towns of Mesopotamia: Hatra, which had irregularly rounded walls, and Ctesiphon, where the arc of the defensive wall appears to have been based on the Tigris. Such rounded fortification walls could be more easily defended than rectangular ones such as those seen around Seleucia, opposite Ctesiphon. The return in Parthian times to the rounded form known earlier, as is shown by the circular camps pictured in the Assyrian reliefs, may have been caused by the uncertain conditions which prevailed during some phases of the Parthian period.[5] In such times some protection was also afforded by the thick walls of the massive Parthian architecture. The walls were built of stone or baked and unbaked brick. In Mesopotamia, especially at Ashur, where a palace was built in Parthian times, the material was brick, used with quick-setting gypsum mortar which became as hard as cement when it dried. These walls were subsequently given a smooth and pleasing surface with plaster.

Circular fortification wall

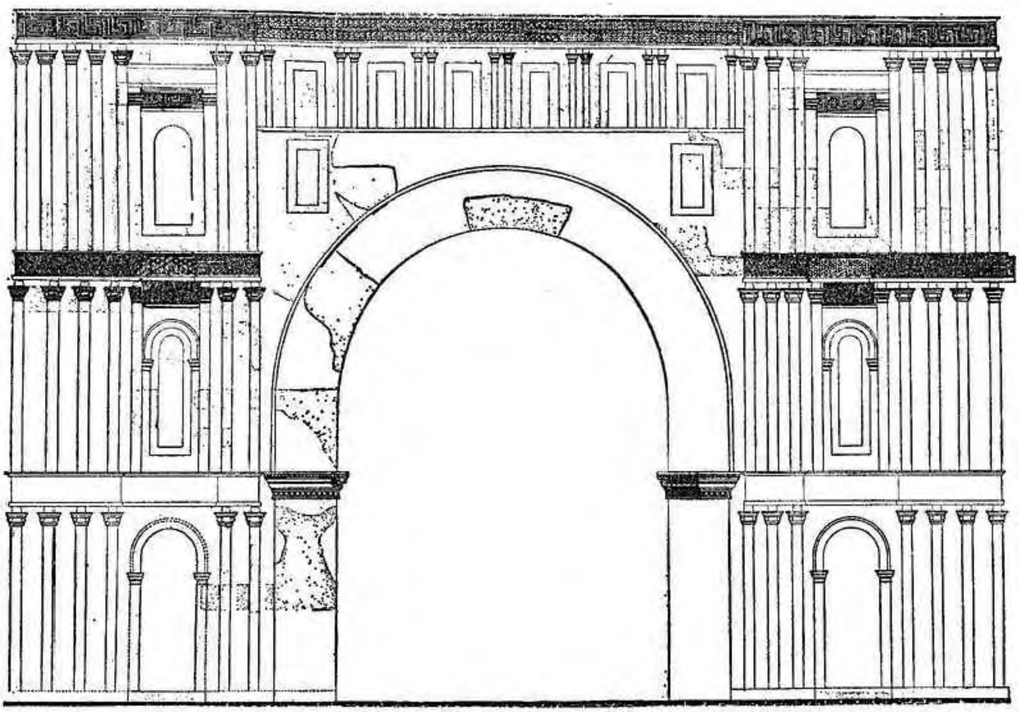
ARCHITECTURE

Baked brick at Ashur and stone at Hatra were used for the most distinctive

The iwan architectural form of the Parthian period, the *iwan*. This is a barrel-vaulted rectangular room closed in the back and completely open in front, usually upon a court. Since Parthian times the iwan plays an important role in Western Asiatic architecture. Its origin is a matter for speculation. Some would trace it to trees and branches covered with mats plastered with mud and producing the effect of barrel-vaulted roofs. Such structures are still to be seen along the Helmand river or Lake Helmand, in Seistan (eastern Iran), and supposedly also around the Sea of Aral in Central Asia.[6] These are the regions from which the Parthians came to conquer Iran. Though barrel-vaulting had long been known in the ancient Near East, it was not used to span monumental halls before the Parthian period. Probably the Parthians really favoured these structures. Their builders developed a technique for constructing large vaults without centering by setting the bricks in a certain way and by using quick-setting gypsum mortar.

FIG. 94 The Parthian palace at Ashur could be reconstructed and may be discussed in some detail because its façade without doubt influenced that of the later Sasanian palace of Ctesiphon, perhaps indirectly through an earlier Parthian structure which may have been erected at that site. This façade of the palace at Ashur, made of stucco with strips of colonnettes and framed niches, is related to elaborate Roman façades, especially the *scenae frons* of a theatre, though the idea for the simulated decorative storeys which characterize some of these

FIG. 94 – *The main façade of the Parthian palace at Ashur. Reconstruction in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.*



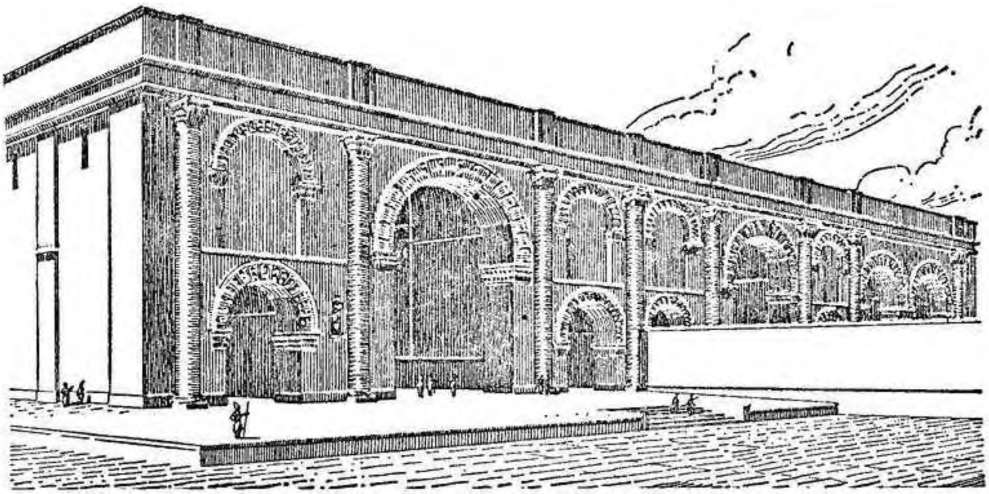


FIG. 95 – *Façade of the main palace at Hatra. After the reconstruction by W. Andrae.*

scenae frontes may have originated in the Hellenistic architecture of the Near East. The treatment of the Roman architectural elements at Ashur was flat and decorative, thus depriving them of their tectonic significance. In part this development may have been rooted in the traditional façades of ancient Babylonia; for in their decorative scheme semicircular mouldings and channels produced vertical accents while flat horizontal courses divided the surface into a semblance of storeys.

The special charm of the façade at Ashur, however, was surely provided by the friezes cut in gypsum stucco with their backgrounds painted in bright colours in such a way that the geometric patterns, based on square and circle, stood out like lace against the undercut backgrounds of yellow, dark red, black, leaf green and a luminous red. The principal façade of the Parthian palace at Ashur forms one of the four walls of a court, the other walls of which each have smaller iwans of differing sizes. This plan represents the combination of the iwan with the ancient Near Eastern type of house which is centered on the court. An interesting intermediary type was found at Nisa, the first capital of the Parthians, situated near modern Ashkhabad in Russian Central Asia. There the court is the centre of the structure called the 'Square House' and is taken by Ghirshman to represent the earliest occurrence of a courtyard with four iwans.[7] From the Sasanian period onward such a four-iwan plan became one of the most important architectural elements in Western Asia.

A different use of the iwan is seen at Hatra. There each iwan is an entity in itself, to which others could be added if necessary. Thus the palace of Hatra obviously consisted of two iwans with their side rooms which the façade makes appear as a single, unified structure. Two more iwans were later added at the side. FIG. 95

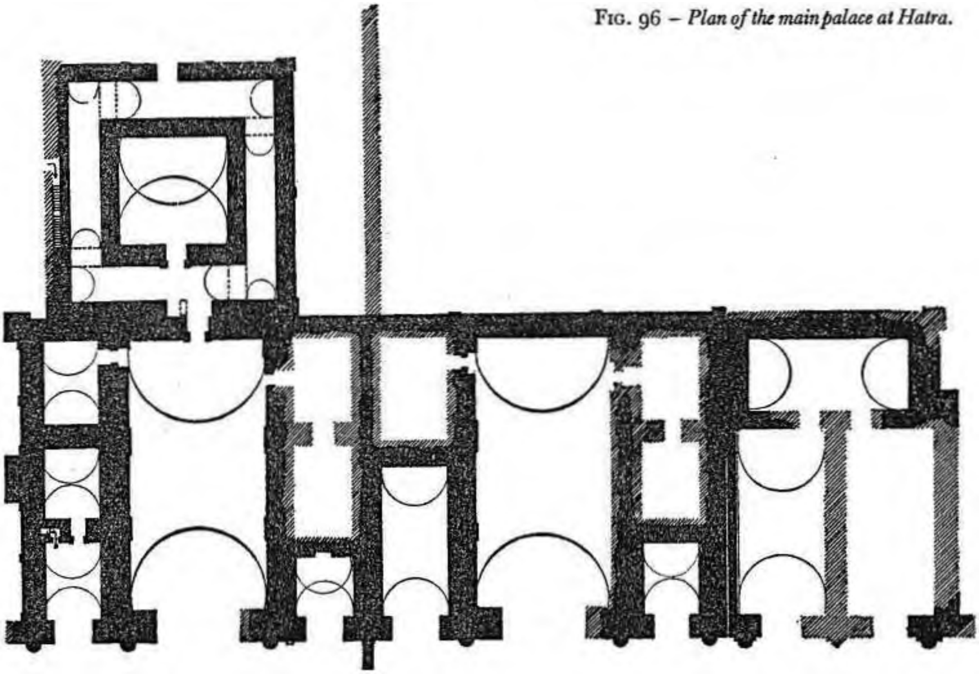
The façade with its two sets of three arches, in each set a large iwan in the middle and smaller barrel-vaulted rooms at the sides, is immediately reminiscent of the triple-arch motif of the Roman triumphal arch or of the city gate. Likewise, the fine masonry which forms the outer and inner shells of the rubble walls of Hatra recalls the treatment of stone by Syrian and Hellenistic masons. Thus the palace of Hatra is comparable to buildings of the Parthian period in Garni in Armenia, and in Nisa in Central Asia, in its close relation to the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman styles of the West.

FIG. 96 Behind the iwans of the palace at Hatra, however, is a temple the plan of which continues in the most conservative way that of the Achaemenid fire temple of Susa. It is differentiated from the earlier building only by the barrel-vault of the cella and the separate vaulting of the ambulatory, whereas earlier the entire building was covered by one flat roof resting on columns.

The temple of Hatra manifests the Achaemenid heritage in the religion of the Parthians; however, the Arsacids were very tolerant, and the various styles of the religious structures reflect the religious freedom which prevailed in the country. In Warka, in Iraq, a temple was erected on a Babylonian plan but with Graeco-Roman architectural elements; in Taxila, in north-western India, the plan of the Parthian temple shows a combination of Greek forms with those of an Iranian fire temple; a complex of buildings excavated by Herzfeld at Kuh-i Kwadja in Seistan (eastern Iran) is reminiscent of Buddhist monasteries in India. In part the variety of the buildings may show a development which led from an initial dependence on Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman prototypes toward greater stress on indigenous elements.

Coins The coins issued by the Arsacid kings provide the only unbroken sequence in a pictorial medium of the Parthian period. The portraits on the obverse and also the representations on the reverse are based on Hellenistic prototypes. In the

FIG. 96 – *Plan of the main palace at Hatra.*



last century of Parthian rule, however, the fabric and style of the coins disintegrated and the representations were dissolved into lines and dots, so that they are scarcely recognizable. It is interesting to note that a somewhat similar development occurred later within the Sasanian coinage.

The earliest Arsacid coins, which may probably be assigned to Mithradates I (*c.* 171–138/7 B.C.), show on the obverse a beardless head with 'bold and striking features,'[8] beaked nose, prominent eyebrows, over-sized eye, curved lips and strong chin. He wears a cap of soft material, leather or felt, which comes to a point, here folded over the side. The ends of the cap hang down in front and in the back. This cap is similar to that worn by the Scythians of Achaemenid times and probably also to that of the Medes. It may even be related to the pointed headgear seen on Neo-Elamite reliefs (see the rendering of the Elamite king in the drawing of the relief on p. 67). Around the cap of the Parthian on the coin lies a diadem, tied at the back with a small bow the ends of which curve down gracefully. Small curls — or, more likely, an ear-ring — are visible below the cap. Hellenistic influence is apparent in the plastic forms of the portrait and in its strong contrasts, as well as in the exaggerated size of the eye. PLATE 53 TOP LEFT FIG. 42

On the reverse of the coin appears a figure thought to be the deified Arsaces, symbolic hero of the Arsacid race. Dressed in Median costume, he wears the same cap as the personage portrayed on the obverse, is seated on an omphalos, and holds a bow. The prototype of the figure is Apollo, legendary ancestor of the Seleucids, who appeared on the reverse of their coins. It is difficult to decide whether the portrait on the obverse was also meant to render this ancestor, perhaps with the features of Mithradates I, since later coins definitely assignable to that king show his portrait with a similar beaked nose. These coins of Mithradates I initiated a series of remarkably realistic portraits, more sharply characterized in the coins struck in Persian mints, more idealized in mints with a Greek tradition, like Seleucia.

Many coins have survived from the time of Mithradates II (*c.* 123–88/87 B.C.), during which Parthian power was at its height. The obverse of these coins shows the great king with a distinctive profile and long beard; from the middle of his reign he was shown with a tall cap decorated with rows of pearls and jewels, which formed a large star on the side. Henceforth this cap became almost a royal insigne and was worn by many rulers portrayed on Arsacid coins. Of the various inscriptions which Mithradates II caused to have arranged in the form of a square on the reverse of his coins the most characteristic is the one which calls him Arsaces, King of Kings (like the Achaemenid rulers), the Just, the Beneficent and the Philhellene. PLATE 53 SECOND ROW, LEFT

From this period onward the images on the coins begin to be schematized, especially the figure on the reverse, but some interesting types were still being developed. A coin of Phraates III (70 or 69–58/57 B.C.) shows the king in Parthian costume seated on a throne facing toward the left. Upon his extended hand perches an eagle, while he grasps a long sceptre with the other hand. Behind the king stands a female figure in a Greek garment, characterized as a Hellenistic city goddess by her mural crown and a tall sceptre. With her right hand she places a diadem or wreath upon the head of the king. The representation celebrates a victory of Phraates, perhaps over Seleucia. This type is the first of a considerable number of coins representing important historical and religious events in the reigns of Parthian rulers. FIG. 97 LEFT

In striking contrast to the Hellenistic style of these narrative scenes is the frontal

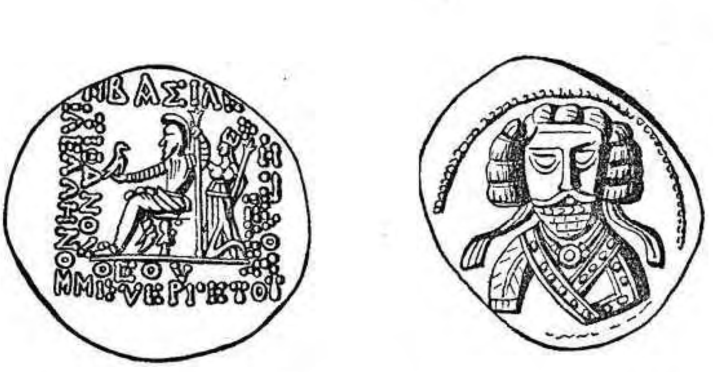


Fig. 97 – *Left: coin of Phraates III. Right: coin of Mithradates III. Both in E. T. Newell Collection.*

FIG. 97 RIGHT portrait of Mithradates III (58/57–55 B.C.), which seems to be the earliest such representation of a ruler who was still living at the time when the coin was designed.[9] The change from profile to frontal view implies a change from an image which is merely meant to be viewed to one which is meant to exert some influence on the beholder, even to dominate him. Although the frontal view was not often used on coins of the following kings, it appeared extensively in other media of Parthian art, in painting and sculpture.[10]

Painting Little has come down through the ages of wall-paintings of the Parthian period, though painting surely was the major art of the age. If the site of Kuh-i Kwadja, mentioned above for the resemblance of its ground-plan to Buddhist monasteries, is really Parthian and not already Sasanian, and if one may draw conclusions from Herzfeld's renderings of the fragmentary paintings, they manifest a provincial Graeco-Roman style, hardened and simplified but with a certain competence in the grouping and the rendering of the human figures. Certain FIG. 98 features, however, such as a frontally rendered eye and probably also the strong colours bespeak Eastern heritage. Similar statements can also be made about the wall-paintings of Dura Europos on the upper Euphrates,[11] especially about FIG. 99 the two paintings in the Mithraic 'cave', which show the god Mithra as a mounted huntsman in the parade dress of the nobles of the rich desert town of Palmyra. Hence the paintings were probably copied from Palmyrene prototypes. Mithra's head and upper body are seen in frontal view. This may be a return to ancient Near Eastern traditions from Hellenistic conventions which had favoured a three-quarter view suggestive of depth and corporeality. In the hunting scenes depth and movement are only suggested by the arrangement in diagonal rows of the sharply outlined fleeing animals. Similar pictures probably served as models for the hunting scenes of the following Sasanian period.

In striking contrast to these paintings are the crude, flat rock reliefs of the Parthian period in Iran with their awkwardly arranged, usually frontal figures (Fig. 100). Only the reliefs of Mithradates II (*c.* 123–88/87

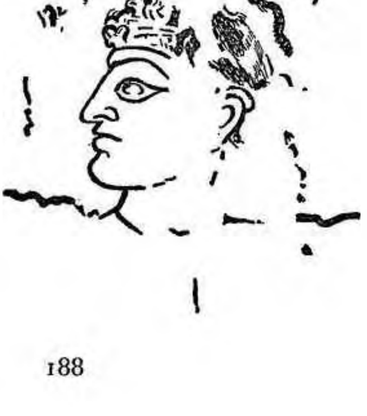


Fig. 98 – *Detail from the wall-paintings of Kuh-i Kwadja.*

B.C.) and Gotarzes II (*c.* A.D. 38–51) may have been more competently carved, although one cannot really judge their quality in their present fragmentary and disintegrated state.[12]

It seems likely that the rock reliefs and other relief work were produced by relatively untutored local stone-carvers. Similarities which exist between these carvings of Iran and graffiti scratched upon the walls of houses at Dura Europos probably indicate that throughout the Parthian empire interest was centered on certain scenes and their principal features, on sacrifices before a fire altar, on the king surrounded by dignitaries, on scenes of battle and of the hunt. The factual information conveyed pictorially by these scenes is probably quite correct and makes them at least historically interesting; furthermore, they already contain many themes of later Sasanian art.

Sculpture in the round

FIG. 101

The most important free-standing sculpture of the Parthian period is a male figure of bronze, slightly more than life-sized, which was found in the ruins of a temple at Shami on the plateau of Malamir in the mountain region of the Elymais (ancient Elamite territory). The broad-shouldered Parthian wearing an Iranian costume faces the beholder in a frontal posture which seems both powerful and almost immovable. The figure stands with legs slightly spread. The feet, clad in boots of felt or leather, act as a base for the columnar legs, which are broadened by wide and loose leggings. The rest of the body is proportionately heavy. The man wears a jacket with smooth borders, probably of leather. These borders lead the eye around the hips and diagonally across the thorax. A belt accentuates the thick waist. The neck is equally thick and columnar. In comparison the head, which was separately and probably not locally cast, is small for the body. Only the main features of the head were formed in the casting. Details such as the eyes, eyebrows, moustache, short beard and hair were subsequently engraved. The date of the sculpture is indicated both by the posture and by the style of the figure. The frontal pose, here mitigated only very slightly by one foot, appears in the second century A.D. in sculptures of the

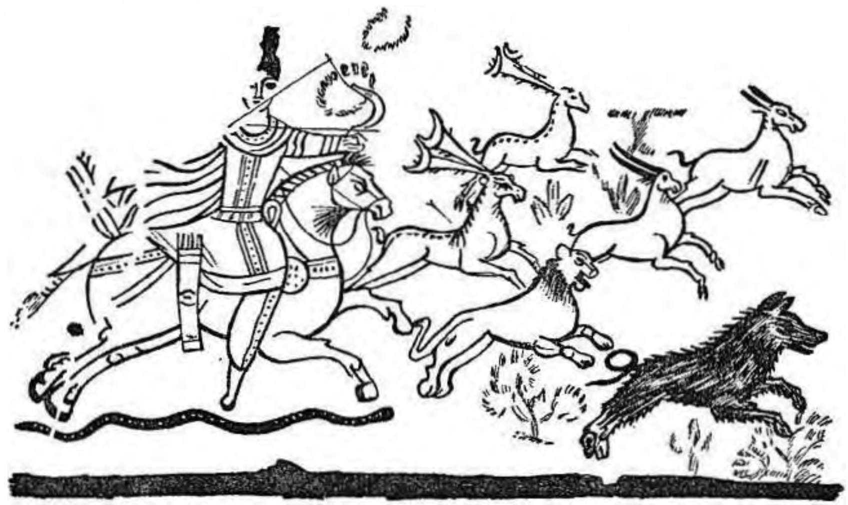


FIG. 99 – *Wall-painting from Dura Europos showing Mithra hunting.*

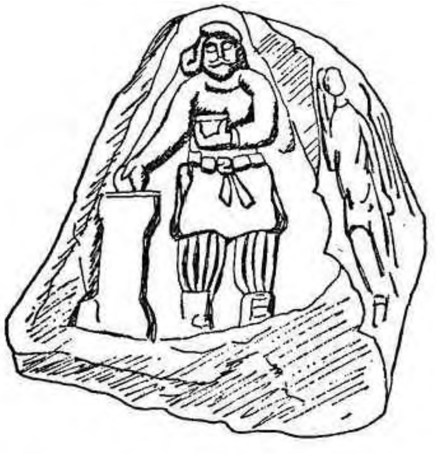


FIG. 100 – *Relief of a Parthian beside a fire altar at Bisutun.*

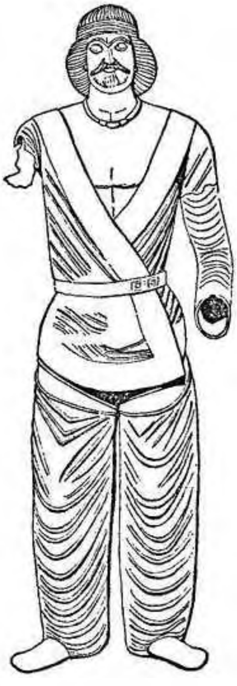


FIG. 101 – *Bronze figure of a Parthian ruler from Shami. Archaeological Museum, Teheran.*

Kushana rulers of India, where frontality is complete, in a fragmentary statue from Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan, and in somewhat less rigid manner in the sculptures of Hatra and Palmyra.[13] It almost seems as if the effectiveness of this pose for the representation of a powerful personage had been recognized only at this time. Seyrig pointed out that the severe style of the sculpture was not found in related statuary from Palmyra after the first half of the second century, so that the first half of that century seems to be a likely date for the forceful statue from Shami.

Nothing in the simplified and somewhat hard stylization of the face is comparable to the soft and plastic quality of the Seleucid head which was found at the same place, nor does the style of the figure as a whole resemble closely that of the other sculptural fragments found at the site. Greater similarity, however, can be noted with the head of a ruler from Hatra[14] which belongs approximately to the same period. The head is shown here because it also resembles in its tall jewelled cap the one worn by Mithradates II and many of his successors on their coin portraits.

FIG. 92

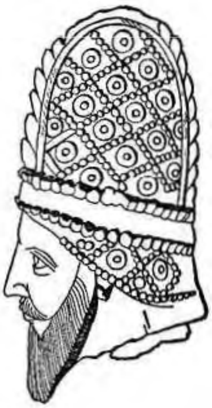
FIG. 102

Minor arts

Among the works of minor art which seem most characteristic of the Parthian period should be mentioned the handles in the shape of an extended feline animal, a panther or leopard. Several stylistic trends which were operative in the Parthian period are noticeable in these small works of art: the naturalism of Graeco-Roman art, expressed especially in the heads of the feline creatures and in the sinuous grace of their bodies, the tendency of the peoples to the north of Iran to attenuate the bodies of animals for formal reasons, and the tendency

FIG. 103

Fig. 102 – *Head of King Uthal from Hatra. Iraq Museum, Baghdad.*



of the ancient Near East, especially of Iran, to combine in one object animal and vessel for decoration.

Other works of Parthian minor art are small clay figures and plaques of horsemen, of which only the plaques really deserve to be classed as art because the three-dimensional clay figures of riders — of Achaemenid derivation — are usually too crude to be considered in a book devoted to the art of Iran. The plaques, on the other hand, are strongly influenced by Graeco-Roman art and therefore belong more definitely in a work on Hellenism in Asia[15] than in the present volume.

Bone figurines of nude females, descendants of the prehistoric figurines, vary from some fairly naturalistic and even elegant examples to others of complete and crude schematization.

Seals

Little is known as yet about glyptic art in the Parthian period. Much that is called Parthian was actually Sasanian and *vice versa*. The impressions of Parthian seals from Nisa show that Seleucid tradition continued both in the repertory of symbolic animals of ancient Near Eastern derivation and in the delicately engraved motifs of Hellenistic origin. Motifs derived from both styles appear to be rendered also in a schematic manner with mechanical tools like cutting wheels.[16] The full development of such a glyptic style, however, was only to come in the Sasanian period.

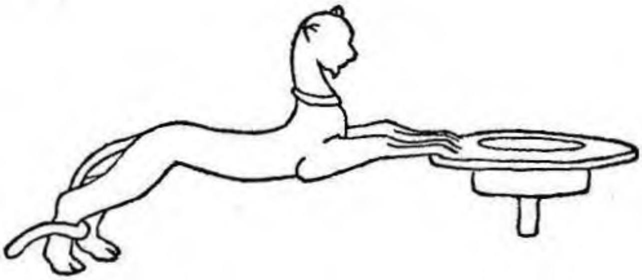


Fig. 103 – *Bronze handle in the form of a feline animal, from Burūdjird.*

XV. SASANIAN ART

HISTORICAL SURVEY

The Sasanian dynasty had its inception in a town situated near ancient Persepolis, Istakhr or Stakhr, the capital of the Persis. Little remains above ground of the buildings of Istakhr, which once included an important fire sanctuary of Anahita, the Iranian goddess of water and fertility, but also a goddess of war.[1] The office of chief priest of the sanctuary seems to have been linked with the secular administration of the region of Istakhr, and both functions seem to have been hereditary in a family which traced its origins to a legendary 'Sasan', a distant descendant of the Achaemenid dynasty. From this family came Ardashir, whose name is a Middle Persian version of the Old Persian name Artaxerxes. Ardashir defeated Artaban, the last Parthian king, in 224 and, in a reign which lasted until 241, firmly established the rule of the Sasanians by reorganizing the Persian empire and by associating with him in the latter part of his reign his vigorous and capable son Shapur. The origin of the dynasty determined its religious and conservative character and also expressed itself in a greater stress on links with Achaemenid tradition than seems to have been the case in the time of the Arsacids. Such evidence of connections with earlier periods of Iranian greatness could probably be used as a political asset in the contest with the Arsacids, whose origin in Central Asia, far from the Persian heartland of Fars, was probably not forgotten.

In contrast with the Arsacid empire, which had a loose structure, the Sasanians were able to establish a strong central power and thereby to control the unruly feudal aristocracy. In their well-trained army the Sasanians continued the effective units of heavy and light cavalry which had constituted the most powerful striking force of the Parthians. At the same time the Sasanian kings created an administration so efficient that it permitted them to carry out programmes of irrigation, town building and industrialization on a unprecedented scale.[2] The wealth of Iran was probably never greater than in the time of the Sasanian empire. The political importance of the empire was in keeping with its economic power: it was the most formidable opponent of Rome, later of Byzantium.

Frontiers

In the first century of Sasanian rule, the empire was extended in the East at the expense of the Kushans of north-western India, whose power was already on the decline. In the West expansion was limited by Roman counter-measures so that the Sasanian frontiers never extended for long beyond the Euphrates. In the north Sasanian troops held the frontiers against the ever threatening incursions of nomads. The danger of invasion by hordes of barbarians from the steppes was so fully realized by Byzantine politicians that large sums of Byzantine coins were sent to Iran for support of the troops on the frontiers; ostensibly, these were contributions toward the extension and upkeep of the passes in the Caucasus.[3] At other times the Sasanians were fighting the armies of Byzantium as a result of disputes over territories desired by both great powers, for example, over the rich towns of northern Syria like Antioch, or over the wealthy kingdom of Armenia. In the East a dangerous element appeared in the reign of Shapur II (310–379) in the form of the White Huns, called Chionite-Hephthalites. Shapur warred against these Huns, perhaps with some success, because he obtained auxiliaries from them for his campaigns in the West. But they settled as 'confederates' in former Kushan territory and harassed the empire in the following centuries.

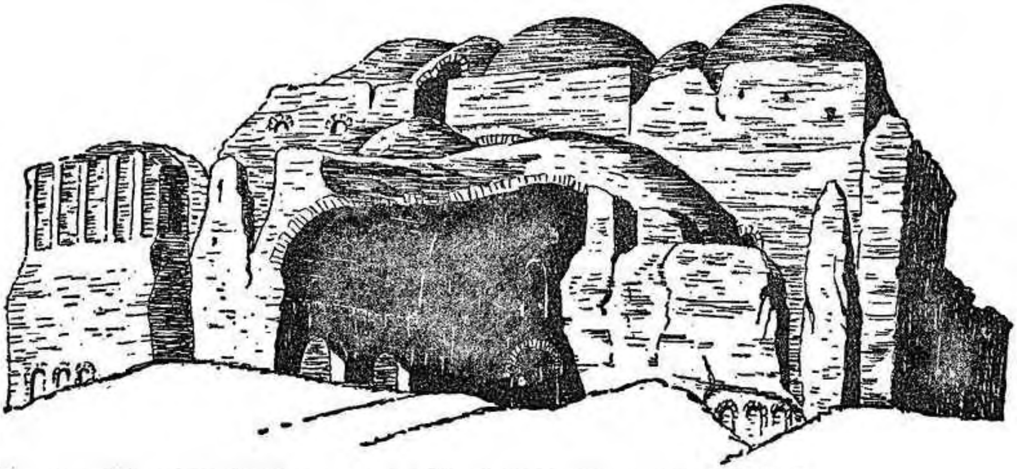
At the same time as the frontiers of the Sasanian empire were thus threatened and often embattled, men and goods must have passed across them, coming and going from the Sasanian centres to the kingdoms of Central Asia. There excavations of palaces and castles have brought to light wall-paintings which indicate close relationship with Sasanian Iran in such portable commodities as textiles and other products of the luxury trade.[4]

The greatest territorial extension of the Sasanian empire and the last apogee of its artistic activities were reached in the time of Khusraw II (591–628), a well-known figure in the history and legend of the West, who had taken the Holy Cross from Jerusalem to his capital, Ctesiphon. The collapse of the empire began in Khusraw's own time as a result of the Byzantine counter-attack mounted by the Emperor Heraclius, who won back the western territories occupied by Khusraw and even besieged the latter in his capital, Ctesiphon, where he was murdered by his son. Shortly thereafter came the attack of the Arabs, who had only recently appeared as a redoubtable power in the Near East. Resistance of the Sasanians was broken in the battle of Nihavend in 642. Yezdegerd III, the last king, who had taken flight with his court toward the East, was murdered in the region of Merv in 651.

According to tradition the founding by the Sasanian Ardashir of a town which he called 'the glory of Ardashir' was considered by Ardavan, the last Arsacid, as an insufferable act of a vassal and to have provided the immediate cause for Ardavan's ill-fated military action against Ardashir. This tradition conveys something of the political significance which pertained to builders and buildings in this period.

The plan of Ardashir's town was circular, as were those of some Parthian towns. Aerial photographs taken of the fertile valley of Firuzabad[5] show the former circumference traceable in decayed earth ramparts and in the wide fosse of a ruined circumvallation. Arab writers tell us that four gates gave access to the town; their position can still be recognized today. In the centre of the one-time city a tall block of masonry rises from an artificial platform, perhaps the remains of a fire tower.[6]

The principal palace of Ardashir was situated outside the town beside an



F G. 104 – *Palace of Ardashir I (A.D. 224-241) in Firuzabad. State of the ruin in the 19th century.*

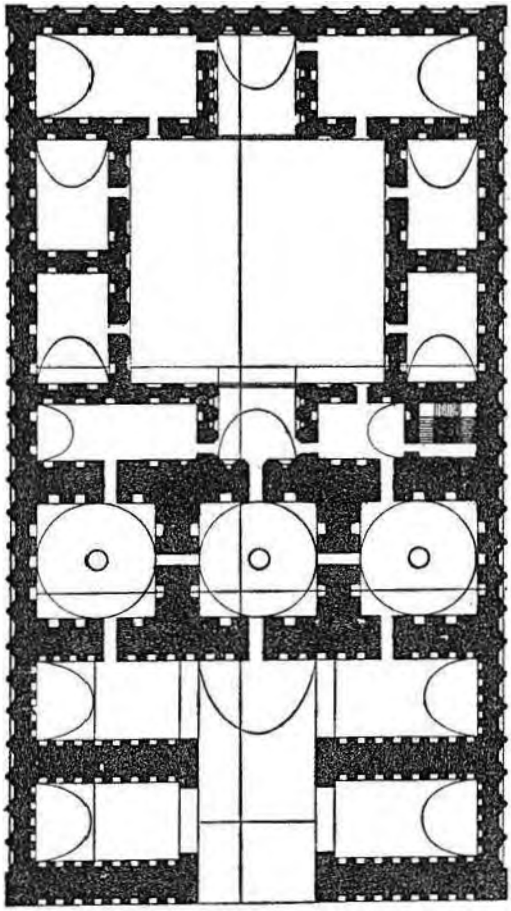


FIG. 105 – *Plan of the palace of Ardashir I in Firuzabad.*

abundant spring, which yielded sufficient water not only for the requirements of a large court but also for the irrigation of gardens. Even today palaces and gardens are planned in relation to springs which assure a plentiful supply of water. There is a dramatic contrast between Persian gardens with their luxuriant shady trees and cool pools and the dry dusty ground that lies beyond their walls.

FIG. 104 Spring, garden and palace of Firuzabad formed an entity more obviously protected against the summer heat and the outside world than later buildings of similar type. The walls of this structure, which measured 104 × 55 metres,[7] were built of rubble with quick-setting mortar and were as much as 4 metres wide. The outer walls seem to have been slightly articulated by two rows of vertical niches (see the remaining wall fragment on the left in Figure 104). This articulation, however, would not have detracted from the massive defensible appearance of the structure, to which the low heavy cupolas must have contributed. Originally the rubble walls were covered with stucco, which is still preserved in some places in the domed halls and in the court of the palace.

Niches, with a semi-circular top, were set in rectangular frames and moulded in the stucco. The lintel of these niches was formed by a cavetto cornice of the type used on the lintels of windows and doors in the palaces of Persepolis from which those of Firuzabad were surely copied in a conscious imitation of Achaemenid architectural features.[8]

The plan of the palace of Firuzabad includes many features of later Sasanian architecture. The basic form is still the iwan, inherited from Parthian times, but it is now combined with one or more domed halls which make the iwan appear as an entrance hall. The domes were set on squinches, a structural device which was still used in Islamic times to form the transition from the walls of a square room to the base of a circular cupola. This is a form discovered empirically, which one might contrast with the mathematically calculated bases for cupolas of the Roman period and especially with the pendentives which were used in domed Byzantine structures like Santa Sophia in Istanbul. These architectural forms illustrate basic differences in theory and method between East and West. The ground-plan of the palace shows strict axial symmetry. The official rooms were entered from the north through the principal iwan, which led into the domed throne-hall. Behind these official quarters lay the private quarters, mainly the harem, arranged around a court. This section comprised two smaller iwans placed on the principal axis of the palace. One of these, which opened toward the north, must have been intended for use in the heat of the summer, the other for catching the warming rays of the sun in winter. Here, in Firuzabad, as in the Parthian palace of Ashur, the iwan was combined with the ancient Near FIG. 105

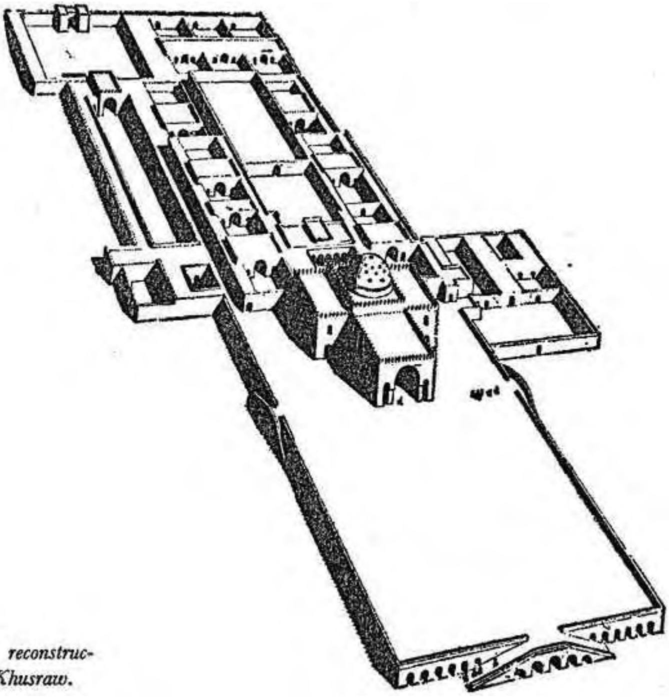


FIG. 106 – *Attempt at a reconstruction of the palace Imaret-i Khusraw.*

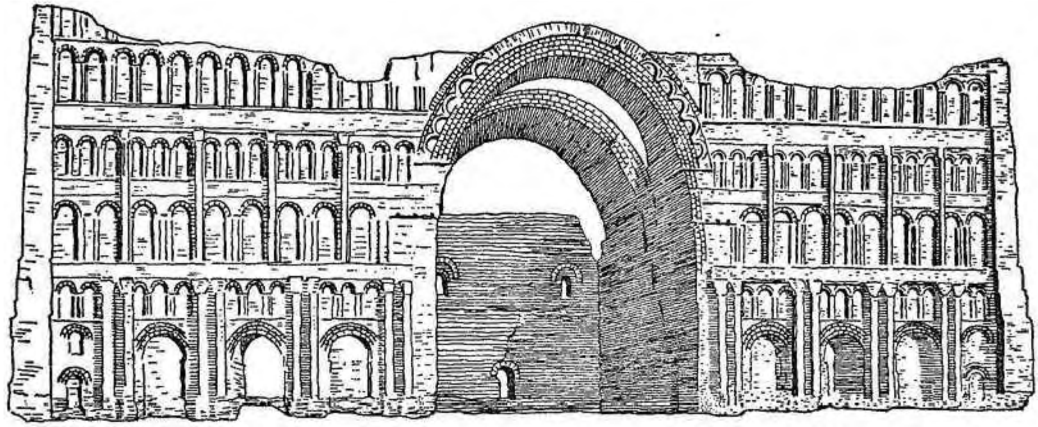


Fig. 107 – *Façade of the palace at Ctesiphon. State of preservation in the 19th century.*

Eastern type of house in which the rooms open on an inner court to produce a complex which was well suited to the climate of these regions.

FIG. 106 Later palaces show variations of the basic forms employed in the palace of Ardashir. Thus the palace of Imaret-i Khusraw at Kasr-i Shirin, built in the time of Khusraw II (591–628), is a gigantically extended complex of an iwan-shaped entrance hall, a square domed hall, side rooms and courts, as well as surrounding living quarters. The structure measured 250 metres in length and 190 metres in width, and rose on an artificial terrace 8 metres in height, in front of which extended a narrow water channel about 550 metres in length.

FIG. 107 Equally gigantic proportions distinguished the palace of Ctesiphon, the residence of the Sasanians after the overthrow of the Parthians. Its layout was surely influenced by the plan of an older Parthian palace, the appearance of which may have resembled that of the Parthian palace at Ashur. Thus the famous arched hall, 28.40 metres in height and 49.75 metres in length,[9] today called Taq-i Kisra, is basically the same architectural element as the small iwans of the Parthian palace at Ashur. Furthermore, the façade of the palace at Ctesiphon, like that of the palace at Ashur, is divided into horizontal registers, which are articulated by niches and engaged columns. At Ctesiphon the shape and size of the niches vary from register to register, each of which forms an independent unit like a horizontal band, without any concern for the vertical accents of the façade. Thus two of the rows of niches end with an arch which does not rest on a column but which merges with the corner pillar. Here another characteristic trait of Sasanian architecture manifests itself: it was not important that the façade should be structurally and logically articulated, as in buildings of classical antiquity, but rather that it should be richly decorated with a pattern which could be extended at will.

Today only the left side of the façade of the palace of Ctesiphon remains standing; the right side collapsed in 1880 as the result of an earthquake. It should not, however, be imagined as centered on the great hall of the 'Taq', but rather as a symmetrical complex with a structure as large as the 'Taq' rising opposite the extant ruin. The German excavators who discovered traces of this building[10] were unable to determine the lateral limitations of the resulting gigantic court.

On the same axis as the great hall of the 'Taq', but facing in the opposite direction, was a second hall only slightly shorter than the first and doubtless covered in similar manner by a barrel-vault. Communication between the two halls could not be established by the excavators, nor could any substantial suggestions be made to explain their function. In general scholars are inclined to accept the traditional interpretation of the extant standing hall as the great throne-hall of the palace, though its crude walls, built of lightly baked brick set in gypsum mortar, retain none of the former magnificence. To get an idea of the original appearance of the building we have to turn to the Arab historians who tell of pictorial representations in the throne-hall, among which was one of Khusraw I at the battle of Antioch. It is also from Arab sources that we obtain a description of the silk carpet representing a garden, embroidered with gold thread and sewn with pearls, called Spring of Khusraw, said to have been in the throne hall of Ctesiphon when the city was sacked by the Arabs. Other indications of the rich ornamentation of the palace came from the German excavations, which yielded from the entire palace area mosaic glass cubes, many of them covered with gold. These point to the presence of mosaics on the upper part of the walls, perhaps even in the barrel-vaults, whereas the lower walls appear to have been covered with slabs of multi-coloured marble, of which fragments were found. Lastly the outside as well as the inside of the palace of Ctesiphon, like other Sasanian palaces, had extensive stucco decoration, of which fragments were found in the vicinity of the great hall.

Further indications as to the appearance of the interior of Sasanian palaces can be gained from the excavations of the palace of Bishapur, situated in western Fars, near Kazerun. There the cross-shaped throne-hall had a cupola and sixty-four niches, the stucco frames of which were decorated with meanders, acanthus-leaves and palmettes, all painted in vivid red, yellow and black, like the acanthus-leaves covering the vaulting. The decoration of this hall was strongly influenced by Graeco-Roman prototypes. Such Western influence penetrated Sasanian art in the time of Shapur I (241–272), who brought back seventy thousand Roman prisoners as a result of his campaigns in Syria and of his victory over the Roman emperor Valerian at Edessa. A large number of these prisoners were settled in Iran and furnished the empire with architects, engineers and technicians who were employed in the great undertakings of the Sasanian government, in the building of bridges, dams and roads. One may also assume that the great architectural activity of Shapur attracted artists and craftsmen from the West to seek employment in Iran. PLAN: FIG. 108

Before the throne-hall other structures had been erected at Bishapur: a court with mosaics of Graeco-Roman derivation and a fire temple. The latter recalls in its plan earlier fire temples, especially the one at Hatra. It consisted of a square main room measuring 14 metres on each side. The room had four doors and was surrounded by corridors in which Ghirshman, the excavator, noted 'an elaborate system of small water conduits.'[11] Another interesting feature of this temple described by Ghirshman were the bull foreparts of stone which originally supported the wooden beams of the roof. In somewhat cruder form these bull protomes recall the Achaemenid capitals of Persepolis and Susa. They illustrate another conscious reminiscence of earlier prototypes such as we

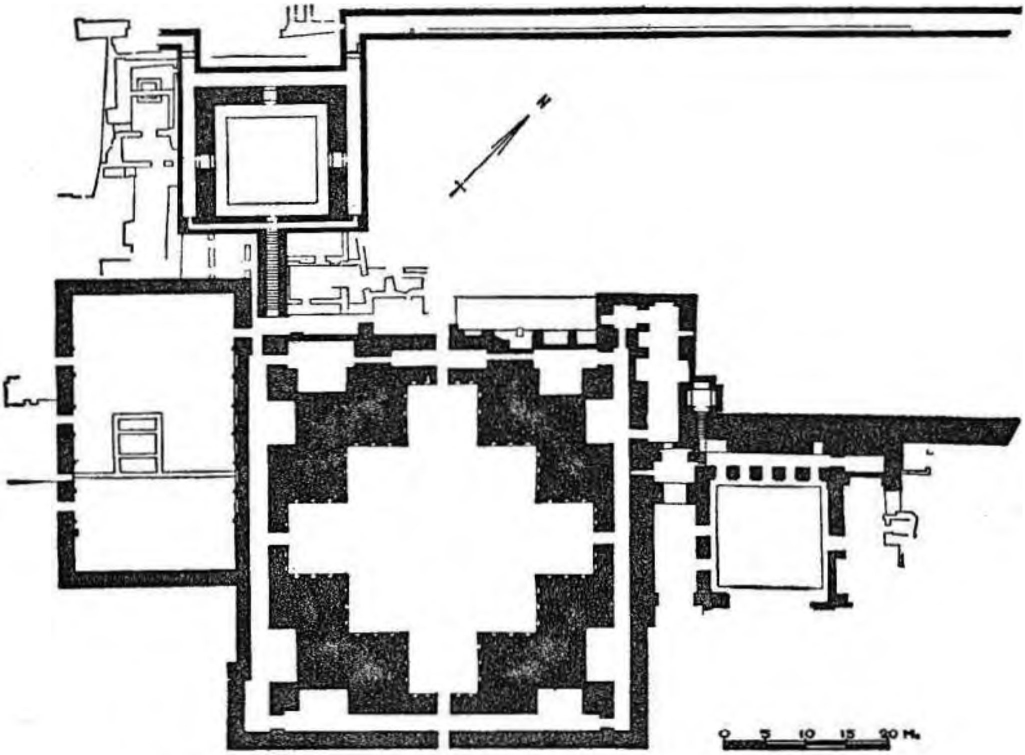


FIG. 108 – *Plan of the palace at Bishapur.*

observed repeatedly in Sasanian art. Temples such as the one discovered by Ghirshman at Bishapur represent a less frequent type of structure associated with the cult of fire than those in which the sacred fire was open to general worship. Such structures consisted merely of an altar over which rose a cupola on four arches. A number of them, called *Tchahar Taq*, were known even before Vanden Berghe conducted a highly successful investigation of Sasanian fire sanctuaries, in the course of which he examined a complex of buildings not far distant from Firuzabad. Here he identified not only the Tchahar Taq, the emplacement of the open public fire, but also the closed chamber where the principal fire was preserved, hidden from the eyes of the common worshipper and accessible only to the priests.[12]

In addition to these sanctuaries of the Zoroastrian religion (which has rightly been termed anti-architectural, since it produced little more than the cupola on arches and the square chamber surrounded by a corridor), there were also churches built in the Sasanian empire. While we cannot discuss these structures here, they should nevertheless be mentioned since the mere fact of the existence of a church, with possible and probable links with the West, may point toward an explanation of many Sasanian elements in later European art and architecture.[13]

COINS

Of all the material remains of the Sasanian period only the coins constitute a continuous chronological sequence throughout the whole period of the dynasty, comparable to the unbroken sequence of Parthian coins. These Sasanian coins have the name of the king for whom they were struck inscribed in Pehlevi, that is Middle Persian, which permits scholars to date them quite closely. In turn the coins themselves form a basis for dating larger works of art. Occasionally stylistic parallels can be observed between the development of Sasanian art as a whole and the style of the coins, particularly at the beginning of the dynasty. As shown by our small selection of coins reproduced on page 177, the development begins with a rather stiff image of the founder of the dynasty, Ardashir I (224–241), which was in itself the final result of an evolution within the reign of that king. A more plastic rendering of the portrait prevailed in the time of Ardashir's successor Shapur I (241–272), and under his successors the relief was flattened out; it became prominent again in the time of Shapur II (310–379), of whom we do not show a coin here. With higher relief, however, was combined a cruder handling of the features in the royal portraits. Later the actual design of the coins was once more carefully executed, but the one-time portrait head had given way to a patterned design in which the greatest stress was placed on rich ornamentation. A gold coin of Khusraw II (590–628) exemplifies this flat but clear and decorative type from the end of the dynasty. Such gold coins, called dinars, are fairly rare and may have been struck by Khusraw II for reasons of prestige. Copper was also used to a very limited extent. The favoured currency of the Sasanian period was the silver drachma, a thin disk which became quite large in the latter part of the period and which had a broad planchet.

PLATE 53 SECOND ROW FROM BOTTOM, LEFT

PLATE 53 BOTTOM LEFT

PLATE 53 BOTTOM RIGHT

On the obverse the Sasanian coins displayed the bust of the reigning monarch; occasionally a king associated his son or wife, or both, with him on the coins, thereby following Roman practice, presumably for dynastic reasons. The reverse side of the coins does not show the image of the ancestor as did the Parthian coins but, in conformity with the religious devotion of the Sasanian dynasty, an altar with the sacred fire whose hereditary guardians had been the ancestors of their royal family. The coins of Ardashir show a table with lions' feet on top of which burns the sacred fire. It is supported in the centre by a column, and the feet also are placed on low supports. Perhaps there was a difference in meaning between this rendering of the fire altar and the one found on the coins of Shapur I where only a column supports the plinth on which the fire burns, and where the fire altar is flanked by two attendants, each of whom grasps with one hand a spear and rests the other hand on the pommel of his sword. The figures wear battlemented crowns but lack the orb of curls on top of the head which distinguished the Sasanian kings, hence they are probably priestly rather than royal guardians. Later a king and a priest were pictured and finally, from the time of Khusraw I (531–579) onward, two royal figures, shown full face in conformity with the stylistic development of the period which favoured a directionless rigid frontality. Rare examples show on the reverse of the coin a scene of investiture, such as a coin of Bahram II (276–293), which shows the king facing the goddess Anahita with eagle or falcon cap.[14]

PLATE 53 SECOND ROW FROM BOTTOM, RIGHT

FIG. 109

The coins which were struck for Ardashir after his victory over the Parthian king Ardavan closely copied the portrait of the ruler on the obverse of the coins of the great Parthian king Mithradates II. The strong profile with aquiline nose and the cap studded with pearls and precious stones are very similar. Later a number of Ardashir's own coin types were developed. Of these an example of

PLATE 53 SECOND ROW FROM TOP, LEFT

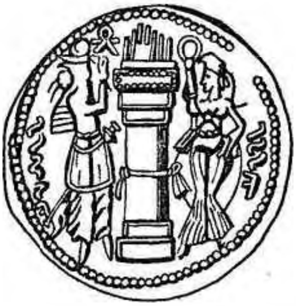


FIG. 109 – *Reverse of a coin of Bahram II (A.D. 276-293). Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.*

PLATE 53 SECOND ROW FROM BOTTOM, LEFT

the latest and most frequent is reproduced in our plate. It shows the head of the ruler turned to the right, in contrast to the Parthian ruler portraits which were turned to the left. The hair on top of the head is combed into an orb of curls and covered with an apparently diaphanous and pearl-studded fabric that was probably pulled through the diadem to serve as a protection for cheeks and neck, like the Median and Parthian caps of earlier times. The orb of curls is tied with a ribbon, the small ends of which are visible. The sign of royalty, the diadem, takes the form of a plain circlet and is set on the forehead, apparently tied at the back where two horizontally pleated or striped bands hang down.

In contrast to the earlier coins of Ardashir, the one exemplified here shows the king with a straight nose and with hair and beard indicated by rows of small dots reminiscent of the small tight curls of the Achaemenids. Perhaps we may also mention that the portraits of kings and satraps on Achaemenid coins are turned to the right and may have contributed to the change in the direction of the portrait in Sasanian coins. We may lastly note that Ardashir's son, Shapur I, is rendered on his coins with a battlemented crown for which an Achaemenid derivation is at least possible. Although the immediate prototypes of these coins were probably those of Istakhr, which were meant to show Ahura Mazda or Anahita, such battlemented crowns were worn by the Achaemenids — as by Darius in the relief of Bisutun or by the prince of the blue head (see pp. 159, 161). Even if the derivation of the battlemented crown from Achaemenid prototypes should not prove tenable, the other examples given so far may indicate that in Sasanian art the connection with the great Achaemenids was expressed pictorially wherever possible, while the Parthian legacy was taken over but often changed beyond recognition. For instance, the high coiffure of curls on the forehead can already be noticed in Parthian coins, but in a different connection and with a different stress.

PLATE 53 BOTTOM LEFT

FIG. 85
PLATE 45

PLATE 53 SECOND AND THIRD ROW, LEFT

In the coins of Ardashir I and Shapur I shown in our plate we see a reflection of the change in style from one reign to the other, with greater sculptural quality of form obtained in the coins of Shapur. The beginning of this stylistic change can probably be traced to the time of Ardashir,[15] but it is not noticeable in the coin from the end of this king's reign, of which we give an example. Instead of the dotted curls which indicate hair and beard in the coins of Ardashir, Shapur's hair is in bunches of soft curls and the ribbons are more vigorously pleated. Furthermore, Shapur's chin and beard are separated into two distinct forms by a constricting band or ring; by these means Shapur's coins have become more varied and more impressive.

Sasanian crowns

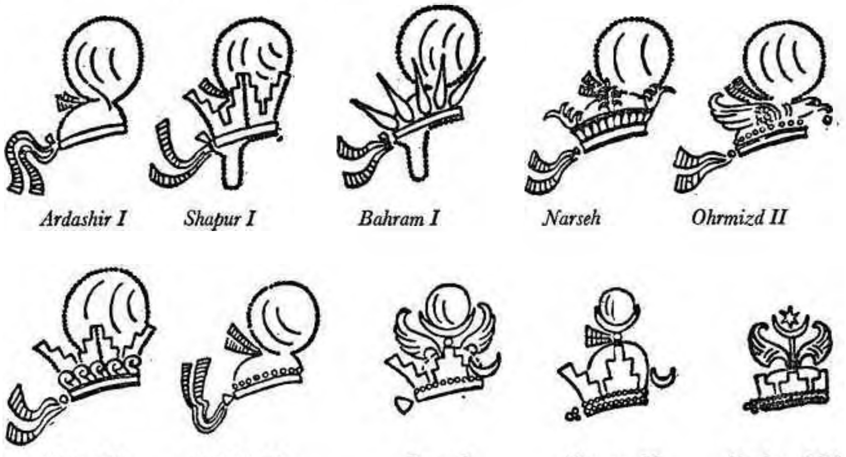
FIG. 110

The stylistic changes from the reign of one Sasanian ruler to the next are rarely as obvious as in the case just demonstrated. More easily recognizable are the shapes of the crowns which were brought about by different choices and combinations of emblems. These emblems were symbols of the gods intended to show the close relation between god and king. They include the battlements mentioned above, the rays which were taken over from the radiance of Mithra, and several emblems which have been ascribed to Anahita: a crown of leaves resembling in its stylization the decoration of the cavetto cornices in the palace of Ardashir at Firuzabad; a pair of wings with the head of an eagle or falcon which holds in its beak a pearl or pomegranate; and finally palmettes. Earlier the emblem deriving from a bird of prey, especially the wings, had been associated exclusively with the god of war and victory, Verethraghna. An emblem which gained increasing importance in the later period of the Sasanian dynasty was the moon crescent associated with the moon god, Mah. A star frequently appeared in association with the moon crescent, but also in other combinations, so that the meaning of this emblem probably varied.

In addition to the arresting shapes of these emblems, one must add in one's mind's eye to the overall visual impression of the crown its bright colours, concerning which we have some information from Arab historians — though unfortunately not from very reliable sources.[16]

Because of the tremendous weight which one must assume for these crowns, especially for those of the late Sasanian period, they could not actually be worn but were suspended over the throne. This practice is documented by Tabari's report of a visit to Khusraw I (531–579) by the Arab prince Nu'man of Hira: 'Nushirwan was seated on a gold throne, the four feet of which were rubies, and which was covered by a brocade rug. The crown was covered with emeralds, rubies and pearls, and was so heavy that he could not carry it on his head. It was suspended above the throne from the ceiling by a golden chain so thin that one did not see it unless one were very close to the throne. If one looked from afar one thought that, despite its weight, the crown rested on his head. When

FIG. 110 – *Crowns of Sasanian kings*



Ardashir I *Shapur I* *Bahram I* *Narseh* *Ohrmizd II*

Shapur II *Ardashir II* *Peroz I* *Khusraw II* *Yezdegerd III*

Nushirwan left the throne, the crown remained suspended and was covered by a piece of brocade so that the dust would not get into it. This custom was established by Nushirwan and was continued during his reign and that of his successors. It had not existed in the time of his ancestors.'[17]

Although this and other accounts of suspended crowns derive from the latter part of the Sasanian period, it is nevertheless possible that the custom of suspending the crown from the ceiling had been introduced earlier. At any rate the influence of this custom long outlived the fall of the Sasanian empire. This is shown by Benjamin of Tudela's account of his visit to Emperor Manuel in Constantinople in about 1170.[18] The great Jewish traveller described a golden throne adorned with precious stones over which hung a golden and jewelled crown, suspended by golden chains. This description reminds us of the one given above for the throne-room of the Sasanian residence in Ctesiphon. In actual fact the king probably wore a lighter covering such as the gilded and jewelled helmet with ram's horns worn by Shapur II (310–379) in the battle of Amida against Julian the Apostate according to the description of Ammianus Marcellinus. The ram's helmet may have indicated a relationship with Verethraghna, god of war and victory, since the ram was associated with that deity. At the same time the ram may have represented the auspicious radiance, the *xvarnah*, which appears as a large and vigorous ram in the royal legend of Ardashir.[19] Finally, this description of a helmet with ram's horns, as well as the representation of such a helmet on the head of the royal huntsman in a silver dish in the Hermitage, FIG. 117 remind us of the ram-headed demons of earlier ages, as seen in the Luristan FIG. 57 bronzes, on the stele of Untashgal, and in the early stamp seals (p. 32). Perhaps FIG. 39 one may also associate other animal- and bird-shaped elements of the Sasanian PLATE 5 TOP crowns with forms of earlier periods: for example, the falcon head and wings of Anahita, which remind us of the frequent renderings of falcons in earlier works of art, especially of the association of goddess and birds of prey on the gold bowl of FIG. 63 Hasanlu. A knowledge of the significance of these elements in the late period may not lead toward a complete understanding of the early symbols, but it could open new avenues of investigation.

ROCK RELIEFS

The most impressive and best-known works of Sasanian art are the rock reliefs, of which about thirty are known from the first two centuries of Sasanian rule. The largest number is in Fars, in the majestic silent valley of Naqsh-i Rustem, in the small bay of rocks at Naqsh-i Rajab, and on the steep inclines of the gorge at Bishapur. Reliefs were also cut singly into the surface of a rock incline, but so far only one has been discovered outside the province of Fars. It is in Azerbaijan and is thought to represent Ardashir I and his son Shapur receiving the homage of the Armenians.[20]

Only a few of these reliefs have inscriptions; their identification with a specific king must therefore be based on the shape of the crown as distinguished in the coins discussed in the preceding pages, beginning on page 199.

The ancient Iranian tradition of including natural reliefs in an historical or religious context was revived by the Achaemenids and reached its apogee under the Sasanian rulers. Ardashir I initially placed the rendering of his investiture by the god Ahura Mazda in Naqsh-i Rustem, at the entrance of a valley, the sanctity of which was stressed in Achaemenid times by the sacred tower and the tombs of the first Achaemenid rulers. Surely the site had been chosen by Ardashir to unite the divine beneficial radiance, the xvarnah of the Achaemenids, with his own person and with his family.[21]

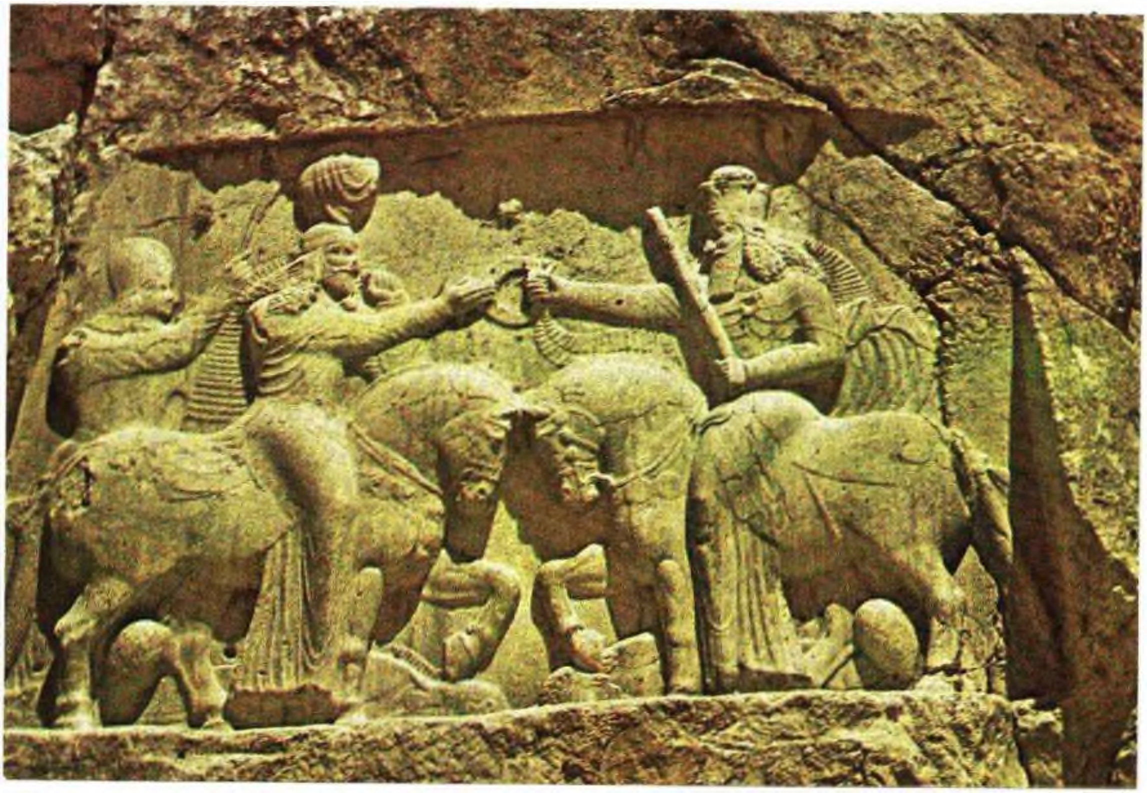


PLATE 54 – Rock relief at Naqsh-i Rustem depicting the investiture of Ardashir I (A.D. 224-241). *Height 4.20 m, width 6.65 m. Cf. below.*

PLATE 54

In Ardashir's relief of his investiture, god and king are both on horseback and are of equal size; the orb of curls or *korymbos* of the king is even higher than the crenellated crown of the god. Only the fact that the god holds the diadem and that the king reaches out for it indicates the dependence of the mortal king on favours from the highest god. The emblem of the god is the barsom bundle which Ahura Mazda holds in his right hand. He wears a long beard cut off horizontally at the bottom and resembling the beards of the Achaemenid kings. The beard of the Sasanian king is either pulled through a ring or tied by a ribbon; it therefore appears pointed and shorter. Both figures wear long loose garments, of which the upper one lies like a cape in thin folds over a garment with long sleeves. The lower part falls in thin curves over the leg and hangs down beside it in slightly broadening folds. Both figures have their legs stretched toward the ground so that they seem to stand rather than to sit, which adds to their apparent height. Moreover, the unnaturally small size of the horses further enhances the size of the human figures. Pictorial stress on the principal figures by gradation of size according to their importance can frequently be noted in Sasanian art, which is more concerned with expression than with the rendering of natural forms and proportions. Thus the horses bend their necks as in the Achaemenid reliefs of Persepolis, although the loose reins in the present rendering show that this is merely one part of a pictorial formula. The second part is provided by the curve formed by the raised leg of the horse, the hoof of which rests here on the head of a fallen enemy. The two enemies are Ahriman, the personification of evil, and Ardavan, the last Arsacid king and representative of all the military opponents of the Sasanians. The heads of the enemies are worked in high relief, whereas the bodies are indicated by flat silhouettes behind the horses. Ahriman's curls look like bodies of snakes, but only in the front is a snake head clearly recognizable, indicating the sculptor's intent. Ardavan wears a helmet with what was probably a dynastic emblem of the Arsacids.

Behind Ardashir stands a page holding a fly-whisk and slightly disturbing the symmetry of the composition. Only the principal actions of investiture and triumph are related to an imaginary axis of symmetry. This closed directionless composition, a heritage of ancient Near Eastern art, expresses the irrevocability and permanent effect of the event. Erdmann pointed out correctly, however, that the apparent calm is effectively mitigated by the fluttering mantle at the back of the god, the pleated bands of the diadems, and the large tassels swinging from the harness of the horses.

The relief is high and the hind legs of the horses are worked out almost fully in the round; the treatment of the surface, however, is restrained and limited to a number of delicate linear patterns, as seen in the pleats of the bands or in the folds of the garments, which curve in different directions. Other reliefs with representations of the investiture of Ardashir at Firuzabad and Naqsh-i Rajab show god and king standing, not on horseback, but Ardashir's successors mostly chose the mounted scheme for the rendering of the investiture. The finest of these is a relief of Bahram I (273–276). Ancient Near Eastern tradition is here successfully combined with Roman influence, which had penetrated Sasanian relief sculpture in the time of Shapur I (241–272). Dictates of ancient Near Eastern schemes can be observed in the limitation of the scene to the two principal figures and in their traditional heraldic arrangement. The influence of the artistic principles of classic antiquity is visible in the structure and modelling of the bodies, the logical and varied rendering of the drapery, and the psychologically convincing and expressive gestures of the figures.

Roman influence can be recognized after Shapur's successes in the West, especially with his victory over the Roman emperor Valerian. Perhaps the first relief in which Shapur's triumph was represented is the one carved in the rock at Naqsh-i Rustem, opposite the sacred Achaemenid tower on the socle of which appears an account of Shapur's deeds and military successes.

PLATE 55 ABOVE

In the relief two Roman emperors, probably Philip the Arab and Valerian, look entreatingly toward the powerful Sasanian ruler. This identification of one Roman emperor is of recent date.[22] It is based in part on the resemblance of coin portraits of Philip the Arab to the profile of the kneeling emperor in another version of Shapur's triumph, carved in the rocks near Bishapur. The inscription of Naqsh-i Rustem proudly mentions that Philip the Arab had to pay five hundred thousand dirhams (that is, drachmas) to Shapur. If the kneeling figure is Philip, the standing one toward whom Shapur extends his hand can be only Valerian, whom the Persian king made a prisoner at Edessa in A.D. 260.

The figure of the Romans together with the mounted king form a triangle whose apex is the *korymbos* of Shapur, which breaks through the upper edge of the

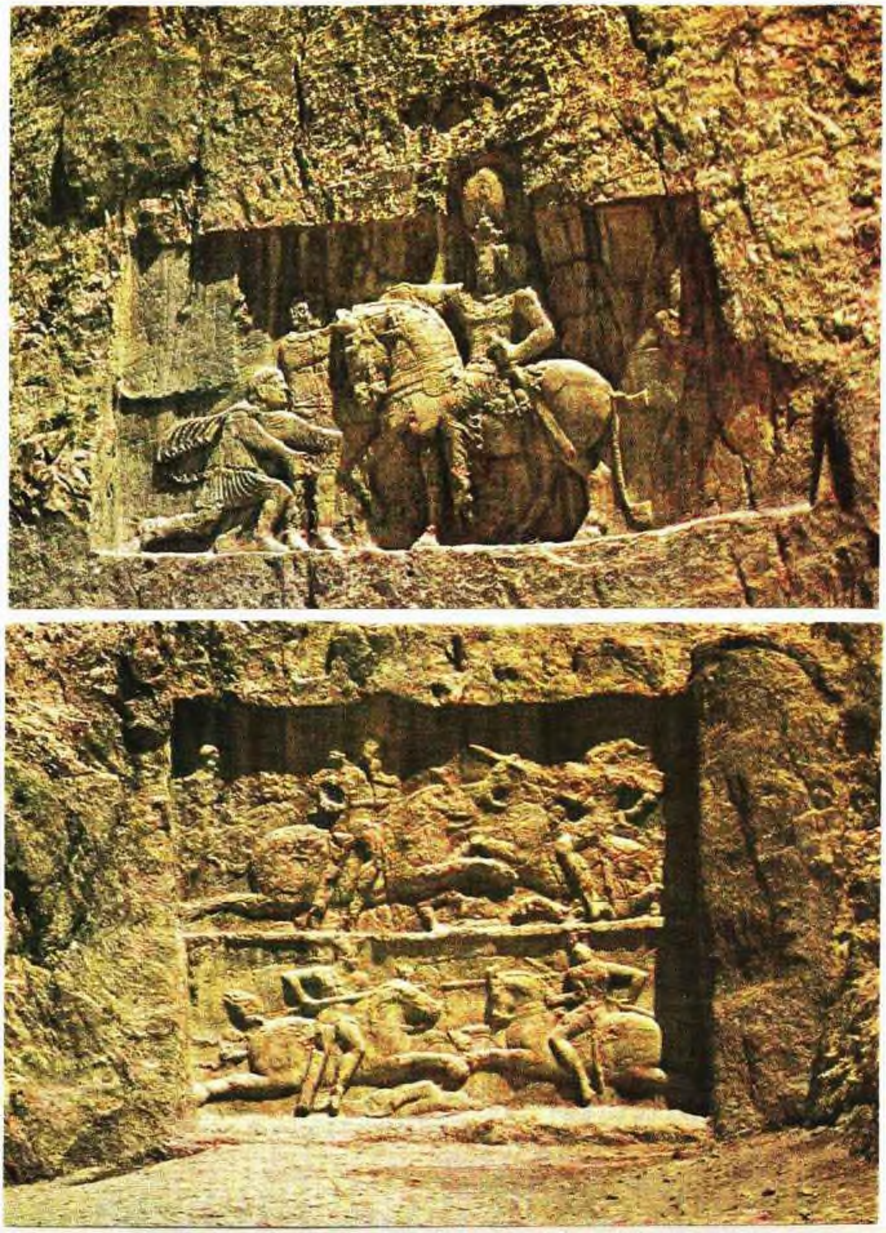


PLATE 55 – Above: Sasanian rock relief with a representation of the triumph of Shapur I (A.D. 241-272) over two Roman emperors. *Height 7 m, width 15 m*. Below: rock relief depicting an equestrian battle of Bahram II (A.D. 276-293). *Both reliefs are at Naqsh-i Rustem. Cf. pp. 204, 206.*

relief. This increases the size and majesty of the Persian king. The free composition of the relief, the vigorous modelling of the figures, the relatively free treatment of the king's drapery and of the mantles worn by the Romans, show some influence of Roman style. Yet this influence is limited to a fairly superficial imitation of Roman characteristics. Closer examination of the costume of the Roman emperors, for example, shows that the folds of the dress are greatly patternized and do not contribute toward the visual understanding of the bodies which they are supposed to cover. One would therefore hesitate to ascribe such reliefs even to a Roman artist of the eastern provinces and would rather assume the hand of an Iranian sculptor who had merely seen Roman works of art. Such an indigenous artist could well have been responsible for the posture of the king, which combines the frontality of the thorax with the profile view of head and legs. This combined view is used to best advantage in the present relief, in which the king's broad chest conveys the impression of great power. A Roman artist of the period would have scarcely employed this ancient Near Eastern posture so successfully. Other reliefs which represent the triumph of Shapur show more direct Roman influence and may partly be the work of sculptors from the Romanized region of northern Syria.

The scenes of investiture and triumph so far discussed, which show high relief and little action, may be viewed as a further development of Achaemenid sculpture. The rock-carving of Darius at Bisutun especially is in high relief and may also be considered iconographically to belong to the scenes of triumph. In contrast to this type of relief those of the Parthian period are flat and probably show the transposition of wall-paintings into rock reliefs. From this tradition seems to derive a relief of Ardashir I (224–241) in Firuzabad which represents an equestrian battle. This work (not reproduced here[23]) depicts in three single contests of increasing fury Ardashir's victory over Ardavan. The relief is flat and seems close to wall-painting in the successful linear design and in the indication of evident pleasure with which ornamental details of armour and harness are drawn. FIG. 77

PLATE 55 BELOW The theme of an equestrian battle occurs again on high relief at Naqsh-i Rustem, a work ascribed to Bahram II (276–293) on the basis of the shape of the crown. The king who charges his opponent with couched spear, galloping over a fallen enemy, resembles in his posture the figure of Ardashir in the relief of Firuzabad. The Roman opponent, however, differs from the sad rider who tumbles from his toppling horse in the relief of Ardashir. Instead he maintains himself on his horse and, though mortally wounded, points his spear at the approaching king. Thus the rendering of the battle scene is far more dramatic than in the earlier relief, in which the enemy no longer offered any resistance. In the lower half of Bahram's relief an unidentified Persian opposes a Roman horseman. The battle is as yet undecided. These equestrian battles of Sasanian times seem like illustrations of tournaments long before the age of chivalry in the West.

Bahram II represented the greatest variety of subjects in his reliefs. One of them, also at Naqsh-i Rustem, was partly carved into an Elamite relief which was thereby mostly destroyed. The Sasanian relief renders the king in strictly frontal pose, his hands on the grip of his sword, which stresses the vertical axis of the scene. On either side of the king appear members of his family and his courtiers, as if seen behind a parapet, carved only as half-figures, down to the waist. Another unusual relief shows the king fighting lions to protect his consort and his son. This king also had himself portrayed on coins together with his wife and FIG. 42

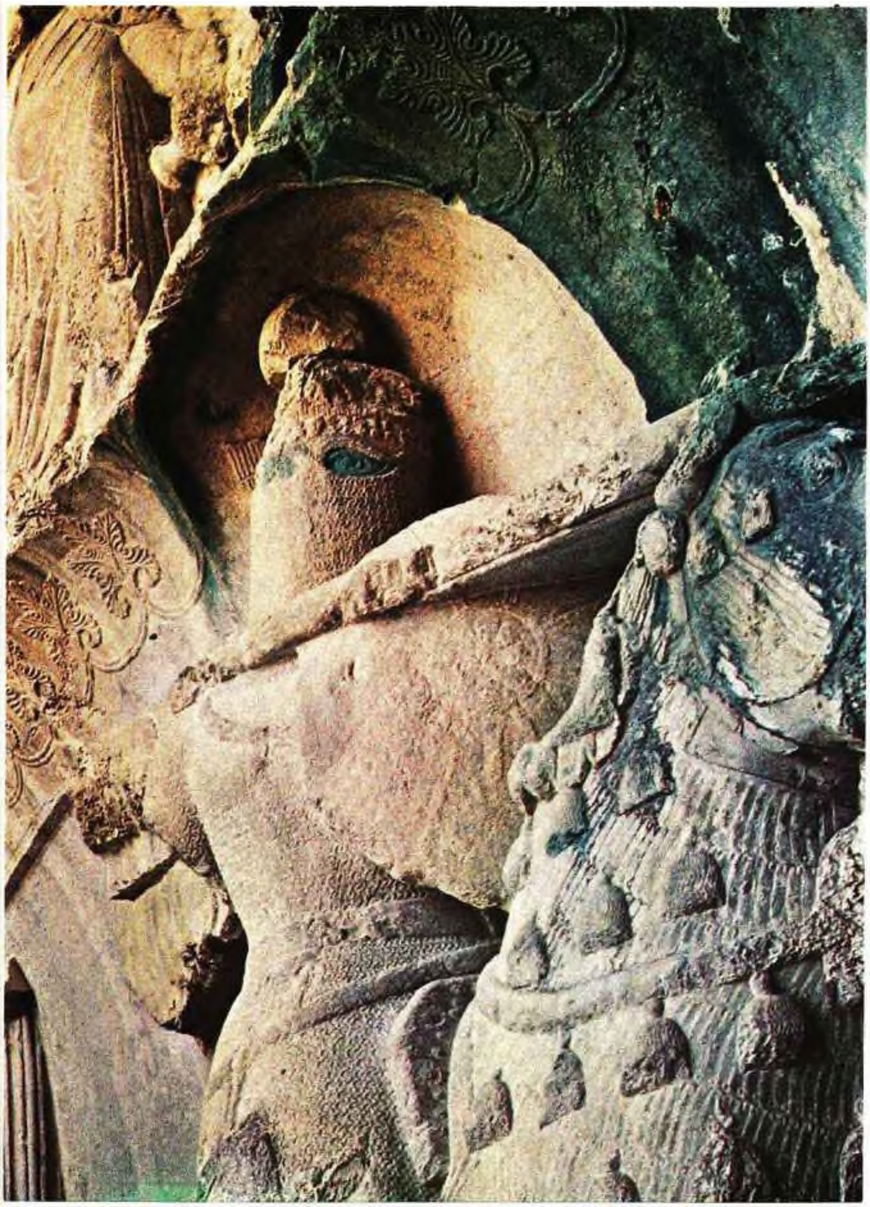
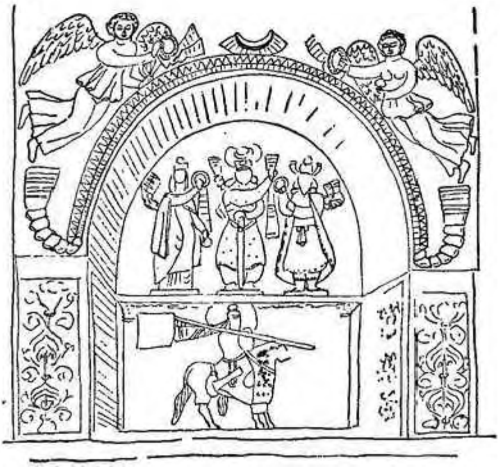


Plate 56 – A king in armour on horseback. Detail of a rock sculpture on the back wall of the main iwan at Taq-i Bustan. Probably reign of Khusraw II (A.D. 590-628). *Height of entire relief 4 m. Cf. p. 208.*

FIG. 111 – *Main iwan of Taq-i Bustan.*



son. This may have been due to personal preference, to the influence of Roman coinage or to Elamite reliefs, of which one also shows a family group.[24]

A new site for rock reliefs was chosen by the Sasanian king Ardashir II (379–383) in the last quarter of the fourth century. He had a hieratically stiff scene of investiture carved in a rock in Kurdistan, at a place today called Taq-i Bustan, near Kermanshah, not far distant from the mountain of Bisutun. There also Shapur III (383–388), Ardashir's successor, had a relief made at the back of an FIG. 111 iwan which he caused to be carved in the rock. Shapur had himself represented beside his great father Shapur II (310–379) in a pictorial documentation of the legitimacy of the son, who had had to fight for the throne. The documentary intent of these reliefs is fully compatible with their rigid composition and with the stiff rendering of the bodies, which merely provide surfaces for the decorative patterns of the material and drapery of the robes.

The iwan with the relief of Shapur III was included almost a century later in plans for a monumental triple iwan, of which the left wing was never completed. In the tympanum of the large new and supposedly central iwan an investiture scene was carved which resembled in its scheme of three figures the composition of the relief of Ardashir II, but corresponded in style to the heavy block-like pair of figures made for Shapur III. Below this relief of an investiture is one of the PLATE 56 most impressive works of Sasanian sculpture, a king in full armour on horseback. For this figure one may cite the description of Ammianus Marcellinus: 'Moreover, all the companies were clad in iron, and all parts of their bodies were covered with thick plates, so fitted that the stiff joints conformed with those of their limbs; and the forms of human faces were so skilfully fitted to their heads that, since their entire bodies were covered with metal, arrows that fell upon them could lodge only where they could see a little through tiny openings opposite the pupil of the eye, or where through the tips of their noses they were able to get a little breath.'

In another place Ammianus says: 'The Persians opposed to us serried bands of mail-clad horsemen in such close order that the gleam of moving bodies covered with closely fitting plates of iron dazzled the eyes of those who looked

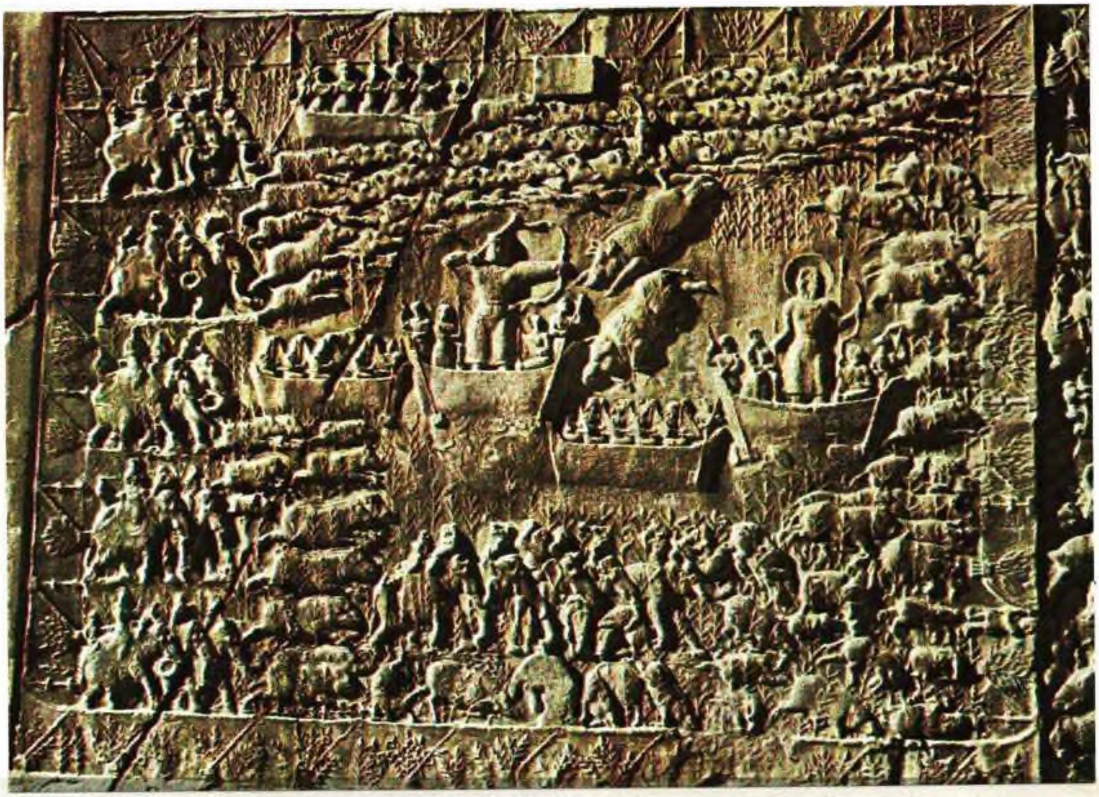


PLATE 57 – Sasanian relief with hunting scenes on the right side wall of the main iwan at Taq-i Bustan. Probably reign of Khusraw II (A.D. 590-628). *Cf. p. 210.*

upon them, while the whole throng of horses was protected by coverings of leather.'[25]

Thus very little can be seen of the king himself. Since the head and foreparts of his battle horse are also covered with armour, the figure forms in the main a powerful block, the menacing impression of which has been recorded by Ammianus. Our photograph shows the detail in the minute treatment of the surface, single links in the chain of the cuirass, the helmet circled by a diadem, the rosette at the centre of the radiating design on the shield, and the tassels in the harness of the horse.

The striking difference between the yellowish colour of the helmet and the bluish-grey eye of the knight may have to be explained by the effect of lichen, mineral deposits and water upon the surface of the rock. The projecting arc of the knight's eyebrow seems to have prevented water from reaching his eye.[26]

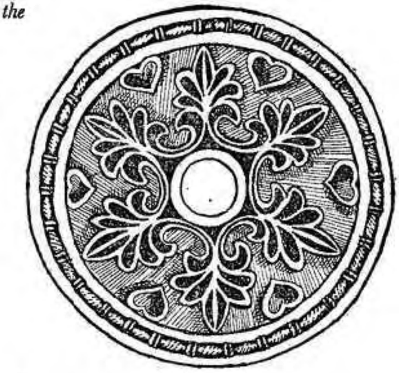
The figure of the horseman again recalls the knights of the Middle Ages of Europe. Despite the great difference in time this visual relationship is not entirely accidental, since medieval chivalry absorbed many Near Eastern traditions in the course of the Crusades.

Placing sculptures at the back of an iwan marks a change in the position of the reliefs. These were no longer carved on rocks in the open but were protected in the back of a vaulted hall. This change not only resulted in a diminution in the size of the reliefs but also probably brought about the application of paint to make the relevant parts stand out more clearly. Gradually the effect of such reliefs would become more closely related to painting than to sculpture.

PLATE 57 The royal hunting reliefs on the side walls of the iwan at Taq-i Bustan certainly suggest an origin in wall-painting. The scene to the left of the entrance is a boar hunt in a swamp, more precisely, in a lake overgrown with rushes through which elephants drive a herd of boars to pass in solid formation before the royal huntsman's boat. In a dramatic move one of the boars breaks out of the herd and turns in the direction of the king. Perhaps it is meant to be the same gigantic animal which leaps toward the king's boat and, in what may be a third rendering, falls beside the boat, transfixed by the king's arrows.[27] Female musicians accompany the king in the midst of the hunt and also at the end where he is shown smaller, standing in the boat, holding in one hand his bow and grasping a staff or spear with the other. Bustling elephants are led by their drivers to pick up the dead game and carry it away.

Within the means at the disposition of the Sasanian artist, this hunting scene in a landscape presents a unified picture. Elephants and boars lead the eye of the viewer around the king and over the entire picture surface; reeds which are drawn across the bodies of the animals unite them with their surroundings. The king dominates the entire picture by his size and by the space which surrounds him like an aura. The smaller figure of the king is stressed by a halo around the head. Another means by which the figure of the king was probably differentiated from its surroundings was the use of colour. The patterns of his garments, for example, delicately carved dog-headed and peacock-tailed dragons called Senmurw, and also the plainer patterns in the robes of the other participants in the hunt, were all surely painted so as to be seen. Likewise the plants and other details were probably painted, perhaps even the background and all the figures. The picture is framed by the enclosing fence, camouflaged by reeds, and is seen from above as if it were folded out. On the right side, beside the fence, is a strip with elephants and boars, almost as if a piece of tapestry had been added to the principal section. Such an extensive rendering of hunts as is seen in the reliefs, however, probably far transcended the abilities of the textile-workers of the period, the carpet- and silk-weavers. It is more likely that there was a connection with multi-figured scenes in stucco, in which examples of hunting scenes are known.[28] Moreover, there are stucco plaques from Ctesiphon with renderings of boars, closely related to those seen in the relief of Taq-i Bustan. This and other relations between the reliefs of Taq-i Bustan and the stuccos of Ctesiphon, which Wachsmuth considered to be late Sasanian, led him to date Taq-i Bustan to the late sixth or early seventh century. This would mean a date in the reign of Khusraw II (590–628), to whom also Herzfeld and Ghirshman would ascribe the large iwan at Taq-i Bustan, whereas Erdmann thought that it represented the work of artists of the unfortunate King Peroz (457/59–484).[29] The decoration on the outer wall of the iwan, especially the trees which flank the entrance, might give some indication of the date of the reliefs. In these trees the Graeco-Roman acanthus-leaf is combined with natural and imaginary blossoms to form a marvellous tree design in which perhaps even elements of Indian plant decoration can be found. Such fantastic tree designs must have influenced those

FIG. 112 – *Stucco rosette from Ctesiphon from the parapet of the southern building. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.*



of the early Islamic mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. This relationship may point to a late origin of the reliefs on the exterior of the large iwan at Taq-i Bustan. Moreover, the relations here mentioned with works of art of distant countries illustrate the far-reaching influence of late Sasanian art, which has been recently illustrated extensively by Ghirshman.[30]

STUCCOS

Among the most distinctive products of Sasanian art are the plaques of moulded and carved stucco which covered the crude masonry of brick or rubble. However, excavations in villas surrounding the royal palace of Ctesiphon showed that rich stucco decoration was used only in the principal hall and perhaps in the room directly adjoining it, while other rooms had merely a covering of plain gypsum plaster.[31] Even in the representative rooms the use of stucco seems to have been concentrated in certain areas, especially in the iwans, where it was employed both in the vault and on the adjoining walls, which were lavishly decorated with a multitude of patterns. Rosettes of stucco like that in Figure 112 were used in a balustrade which may have crowned the roof of one of the palace buildings at Ctesiphon. These rosettes give an indication of the method of manufacture of the stucco decorations. They were composed of four pieces, each formed in a mould and then joined together with gypsum. A layer of finer gypsum probably covered most of the plaques but it is not known whether or not they were painted. So far, traces of paint have been found only on fragments of human figures and in the decoration of the vaulted hall at Bishapur. The rich and varied ornaments of the stucco plaques consisted of bands, disks and squares, usually combined in an unending rapport. Geometric patterns and plant motifs were used singly or combined. Also animal heads, entire animals and human busts were used in decorative panels. Even remains of a hunting scene with large figures were discovered on the façade of the same palace at Ctesiphon which yielded the rosettes.

FIG. 112

Only a few examples can be given here. They show that the ornamental patterns, which are by far in the majority, are based on the circle, which is often inscribed in a square. Moreover, ornaments with circular motifs usually form the basis for unending rapports. The Sasanian ornaments thus have the character of an imaginative and pleasing combination of single independent elements in contrast to a uniform covering of the surface found in later Islamic ornament.

FIG. 112

The stucco rosette from Ctesiphon serves as an example of the combination of palmettes, the most frequent element in Sasanian ornament, with the typically

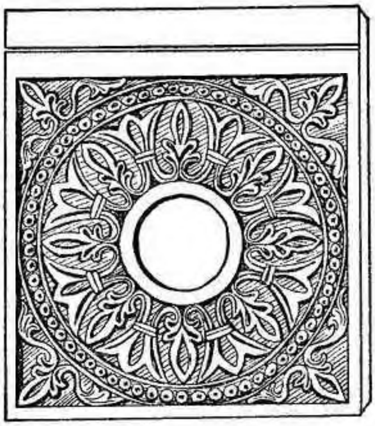


FIG. 113 – *Sasanian stucco plaque with rosette from Bishapur.*

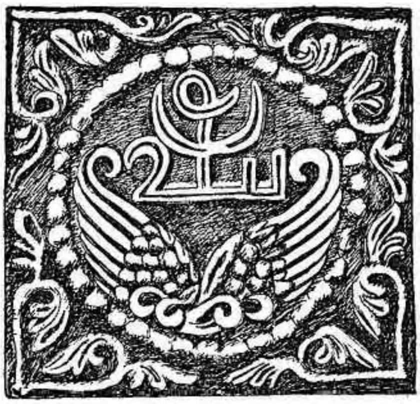


FIG. 114 – *Sasanian stucco plaque from Um-Za'atir near Ctesiphon. Metropolitan Museum, New York.*

Sasanian heart shapes and the surrounding bead and reel which ultimately derives from classical Greek sources.

FIG. 113 In a rosette from Bishapur which is inscribed in a square, palmettes alternate with blossoms which seem to be tied with a double band or a ring. This last-mentioned element may go back to Achaemenid times. The garland of palmettes and bound blossoms is surrounded by a ring of pearls. In each corner of the square there is a palmette, the ends of which continue in half-palmettes. The grooved leaves of these palmettes are doubtless derived from the Western acanthus-leaves; similarly, the half-palmettes first occur in the Graeco-Roman sphere. The multitude of combinations, however, of these palmette forms was an achievement of the Sasanian stucco-workers.

FIG. 114 Another decorative motif shows upright wings which frame a monogram-like combination of letters and which show below the rudiment of a tail. These wings should probably be traced back to the winged disk of the Achaemenids, but it is not impossible that their Sasanian shape, with long feathers that are rolled up at the end, and the almost circular coverts were influenced by Indian renderings of birds' wings.

FIG. 115 Even battlements were formed in stucco, as shown by examples found in Bishapur. Within the merlon rises a palmette-tree which has in its middle part two pairs of wing-palmettes, one above the other. The wing-palmette is probably the noblest form among the Sasanian palmettes, which survived long after the fall of the empire.[32]

An even longer life in art was enjoyed by the battlements themselves, which probably formed the upper edge of many buildings of Sasanian times, as is suggested by the rock-cut crenellations above the iwans of Taq-i Bustan. The examples found at Bishapur already show the elegant decorative form of the early Islamic period, which recalls only distantly the protective crenellated parapet of Assyrian times from which these merlons were ultimately derived. The presence of battlements in the royal crowns, however, shows that they were

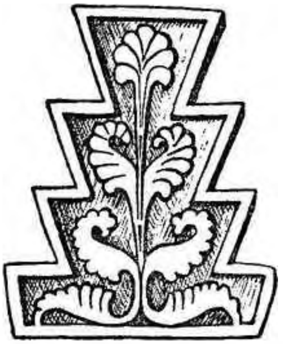


FIG. 115 – *Sasanian merlon of stucco from Bishapur.*

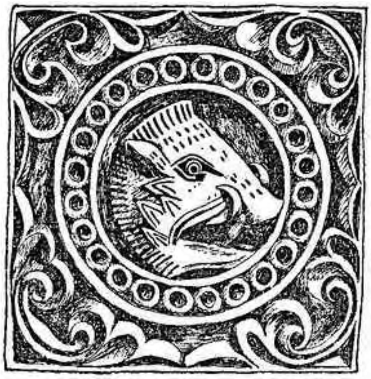


FIG. 116 – *Sasanian stucco plaque with boar's head from Damghan. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.*

still felt to be effective symbols of protective power. Perhaps the use of this motif is indicative of the meaning of other ornaments which may not only have been purely decorative but also protective and beneficial. Probably such a meaning also pertains to the figured motifs of Sasanian art. Thus the boar's head represents an incarnation of the god of war and victory, Verethraghna. The bristles which stand up on the forehead like a diadem, the powerful tusks, the eye in which a piercing glance is produced by a small cavity in the eyeball, are the simple means by which was created a convincing impression of an animal possessed of supernatural power. FIG. 116

Another example of a symbolic representation may be the rendering of two ibexes and a tree — here a grape vine. The precise significance of this ancient motif may well have changed from period to period, but even in this late age it probably still represented a symbol of strength and fertility. In comparison with the severely symmetrical and sharply stylized rendering of the early cylinder in Plate 5, the Sasanian version of the theme shows a slight mitigation of the rigid symmetry of the motif by the play of the animals' forelegs and the distribution of grapes and leaves. The horns bend backward in a graceful sweep with an attractive interplay of the ends, both of which come to touch the animal's back side by side. At first glance the rendering seems naturalistic, but in reality it is quite unnatural and is caused only by the artist's desire to create an attractive design. The rounded bodies of the animals are only slightly articulated and contrast with the sharply carved leaves, the grapes with globular berries, and the spirals which are meant to indicate water. These elements seem to form the background for the rampant and playful animals in front. In spite of the severity of the compositional motif and the schematic simplification of the forms, some suggestion of depth is given here and an impression of a natural scene is conveyed; we may feel the echo of the playful genre scenes of Graeco-Roman art. PLATE 58 PLATE 5 BELOW

At Ctesiphon were found stucco reliefs with Dionysiac dancers and other motifs strongly influenced by Hellenistic art. Probably this renewed influence from the West should be explained by the resettlement near Ctesiphon of the population of Antiochia by Khusraw I (531–578). Also large fragments of a winged horse were found and the torso of an animal which may have been a lion. From the description one gathers that they were almost sculptured in the round and were probably gate figures such as those known in ancient Near Eastern art.

A figure in stucco of a saint from a church at Ctesiphon, which belonged approximately to the fifth century, was made in a different style from that of the reliefs.[33] The crude rendering of naturalistically conceived drapery points to provincial Roman heritage. This single example, however, is not enough to suggest that this Western style was generally characteristic of Christian sculptures in the Sasanian empire.

METAL-WORK The proverbial wealth of the Sasanian court is fully confirmed by the existence of more than one hundred examples of bowls or plates of precious metal known at present. One of the finest examples is the silver plate with partial gilding in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. PLATE 59 The king, identified by his crown as Peroz (457/459–484), is hunting on horseback fleeing game: two Argali bucks or moufflons, which are represented in a second rendering where they appear already transfixed by the king's arrows, lying lifeless under the hooves of his horse. This alone indicates the symbolic character of the hunting scene, which is also stressed by the representation of the king in full regalia with the crown worn only on official occasions.

The composition is carefully balanced. The figure of the king marks approximately the middle of the upper half of the circular bowl. The ruler's bow, his crown, the fluttering ribbons of the diadem, the acorn-shaped tassels of the harness, the hind legs of the horse and the four moufflons fill the outer rim of the bowl in almost regular intervals. The stress on the circle, and also the imaginary axis which can be laid through the figure of the king, stabilize the movement of the hunt from left to right, expressed by the galloping horse and the fleeing moufflons; in fact the movement is transformed into a circular one.[34]

The design of the thick single-shell plate was partly engraved, partly raised in slight relief from the bottom of the form, while the figures and details which are in high relief were hammered separately and then applied to the plate. They were fitted with their edges into a groove created by two ridges formed by pushing up the silver from either side. Subsequent smoothing, engraving, and mercury gilding hid the joins.[35] In addition, the gilding served to introduce colour effects by the play of gold and silver. Thus the face of the king in grey silver and also his hand which spans the bow are clearly differentiated from the golden crown and the halo which frames and accentuates the king's head. Niello is used for details meant to be shown in black colour: the horns, hooves and tails of the moufflons, a pattern on the king's quiver, and the middle part of his bow, perhaps meant to be made of horn. Such colour effects correspond to the painterly tendency of Sasanian art in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The silver plate in the Metropolitan Museum belongs to a group of plates which show the king hunting, pursuing or killing game. These hunting plates belong to the fourth and partly to the fifth century. The figures are relatively small and numerous, the composition is free and assured. The relief of the applied figures is so high that they sometimes almost seem blown up from within.

FIG. 117 An earlier group is represented by a plate in the Hermitage which shows a royal hero with ram's horns on his helmet. The representation is quite dra-

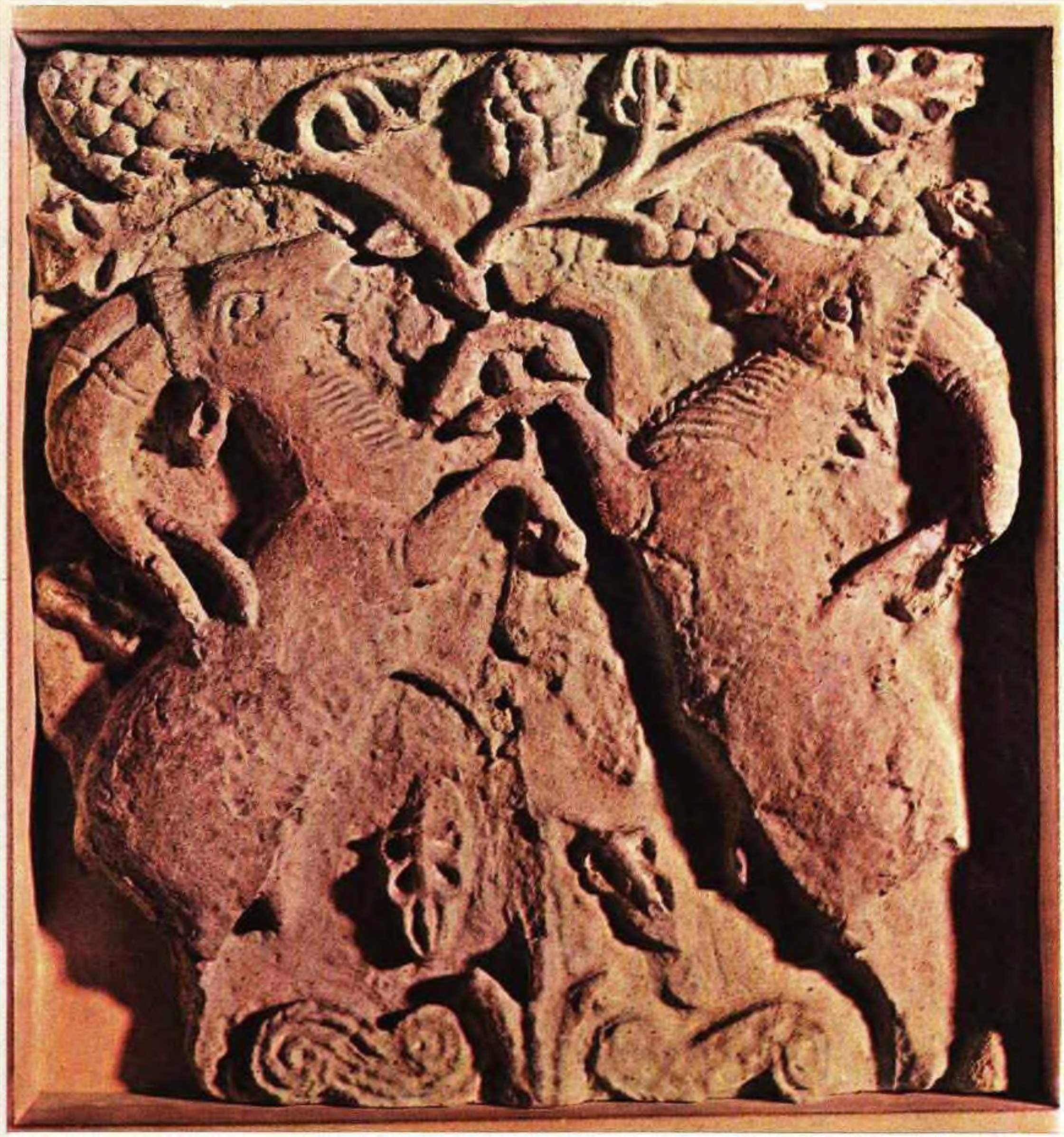


PLATE 58 – Relief showing two ibexes flanking a vine. Stucco. *Height 37 cm, width 25 cm. Louvre, Paris. Cf. p. 213.*

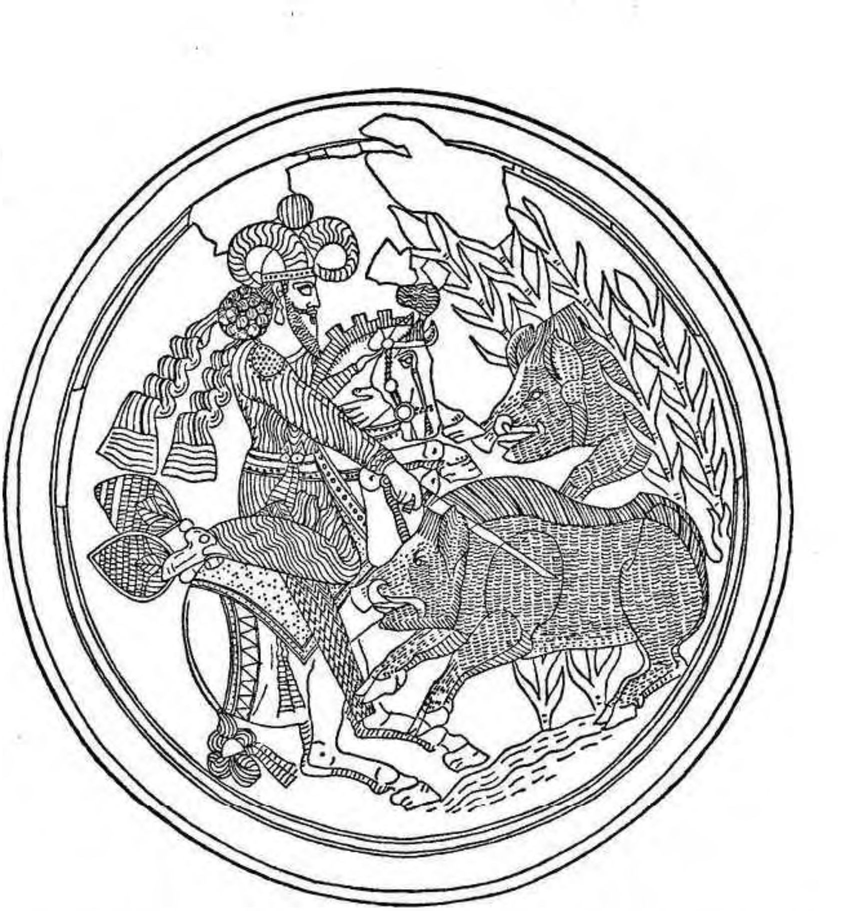


FIG. 117 – *Silver bowl of a king wearing a ram-horned helmet. 3rd century. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.*

matic: in the boar the king fights a dangerous opponent at close quarters and runs his sword into the animal's back in an assured and elegant gesture. The figures are large, and the principal figure is calm in contrast to the violent movement of the animals. The composition favours acute angles formed by the lines of action. The figures remain mostly within the plane of the plate, and only single parts are applied in low relief.[36]

Until now the heroic huntsman of the bowl was considered to be a successor to the throne, judging by the ram-horned helmet thought to characterize the wearer as the prince of the Kushan territories, the Kushanshah. More specifically he was thought to be Bahram I (272/3) or Bahram II (273–276), but this is not quite certain.[37]

A slight shift in the dates of this plate, however, would not influence the relative stylistic sequence of these hunting plates, which leads from designs with large figures to others with small and numerous ones.

The third and latest group of hunting plates originated in the fifth century. In these plates separate parts are no longer applied but the whole plate is cast and subsequently finished by chasing and engraving. This technique was used for

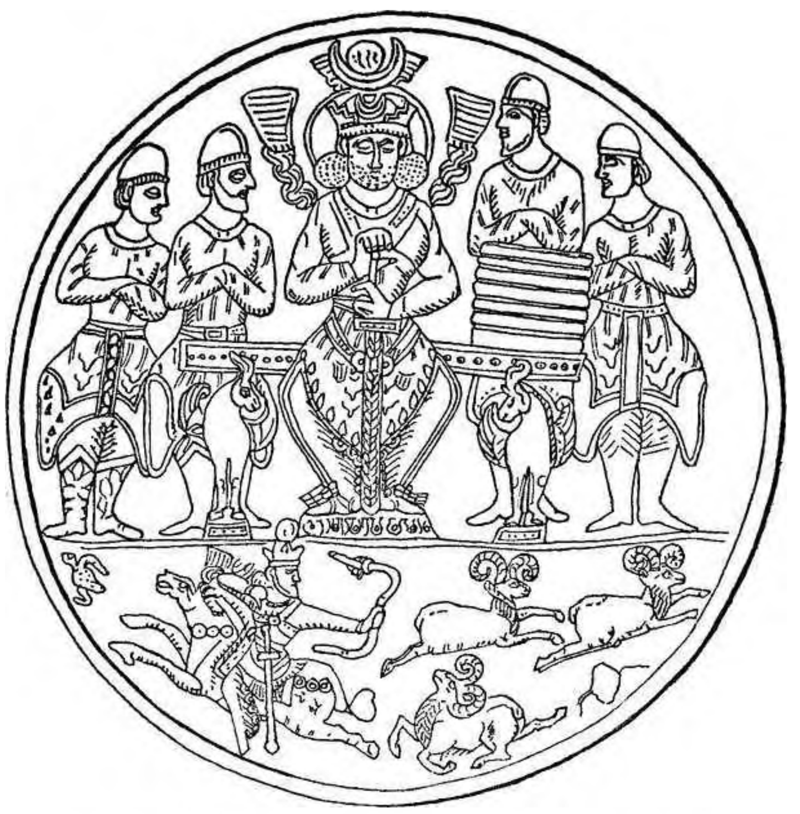


FIG. 118 – *Silver bowl with Khusraw I Anushirvan among dignitaries. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.*

the hunting plate in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one of the best-known works of Sasanian art. Because of the exceptionally free composition of the herd of game animals in this plate and because of unusual details in the attire of the king and in the harness of the horse, which indicate a misunderstanding of the conventions followed by the artists of the Sasanian court, this plate has been assigned to a late Sasanian workshop located somewhere outside the great centres of Iran.[38]

A few silver plates show the king in scenes other than the hunt. An example is a plate in the Hermitage which shows in the main part a ruler surrounded by his dignitaries while in the small segment below a king, seated on his horse in the posture for the 'Parthian shot', aims at fleeing Argali rams. The crown of the king in the hunting scene probably shows a simplified version of the one worn by the enthroned king in the principal section of the bowl, a figure identified with Khusraw I (531–578).[39] The rigid frontality here observed in the rendering of this ruler is also seen in the gold bowl of Khusraw in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where it is preserved under the traditional name of '*la tasse de Solomon*' which it bore when it belonged to the treasure of Saint-Denis.[40] FIG. 118

The rendering has become so schematic and flattened that the king with his FIG. 118

sword between his legs seems to stand before the throne instead of sitting upon it. His throne is a bench which rests on winged horses that turn their heads toward the monarch like the dignitaries who surround the king in the plate. The manner in which these dignitaries reverently cross their arms over the chest and hide their hands in their sleeves surely renders a fairly accurate picture of the strict ceremonial at the Sasanian court.

Religious themes are rarely represented on the metal plates. One of the few examples dating from the end of the fifth or from the early sixth century is a plate from Cherdynye which shows a bird that gently supports a nude female with his claws.[41] In Sasanian times the motif of eagle and woman — first seen on the gold bowl of Hasanlu — may have been connected with the cult of the goddess Anahita, whose association with a bird of prey is manifested in the headgear which she wears on coins (see above, p. 199). FIG. 63

One group of plates and ewers made of precious metal or bronze is mainly decorated with figures of animals and monsters. A silver plate of the fifth to sixth century is particularly charming.[42] In the central medallion a cock or pheasant holds the royal necklace with ribbons, probably a symbol of the king's auspicious radiance. This central medallion is surrounded by a vine from which branch off eight ancillary vines, each of them rolled up to form a circular space filled by a leaf, a flower, or a bird with a small leaf or flower. A wreath of small heart-shaped forms separates the central medallion from the vines. The composition of the design, which is based on the circle, the favourite form of Sasanian artists, is rhythmically organized, but the variety in the imaginary blossoms prevents any impression of monotony.

A different type of metal vessel with figured decoration comprises tall ewers with flattened body and projecting narrow spout. This form may be related to Graeco-Roman prototypes. An interesting motif can be seen on such an ewer in the Bibliothèque Nationale: two pairs of lions with crossed bodies on either side of a flowering tree. The design of the tree is somewhat reminiscent of the trees on the pillars of the main iwan at Taq-i Bustan and even recalls — very distantly — the elaborate palmette-tree of some of the ivories from Ziwiye. The lions have an eight-pointed star on the shoulder and manifest a relation with even earlier works of Iranian art, the gold bowls of Hasanlu and Kalardasht (Figs. 61, 63, 64). Once again one is made aware of the extraordinary continuity of some of the motifs in Iranian art. FIG. 119

SEALS

In the Sasanian period the art of cutting seal-stones flourished, as did all the other arts. The shape most frequently used was still the three-quarter hemisphere with flat base created in Parthian times. The distinctive form with flattened sides, oval base and large perforation, however, may have been a creation of the Sasanian seal-cutters, as well as the facets and curving lines

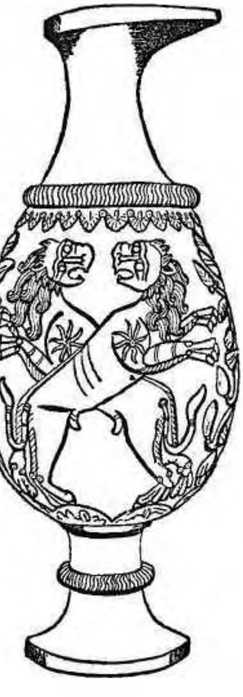


FIG. 119 – *Silver jug with crossed lions. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

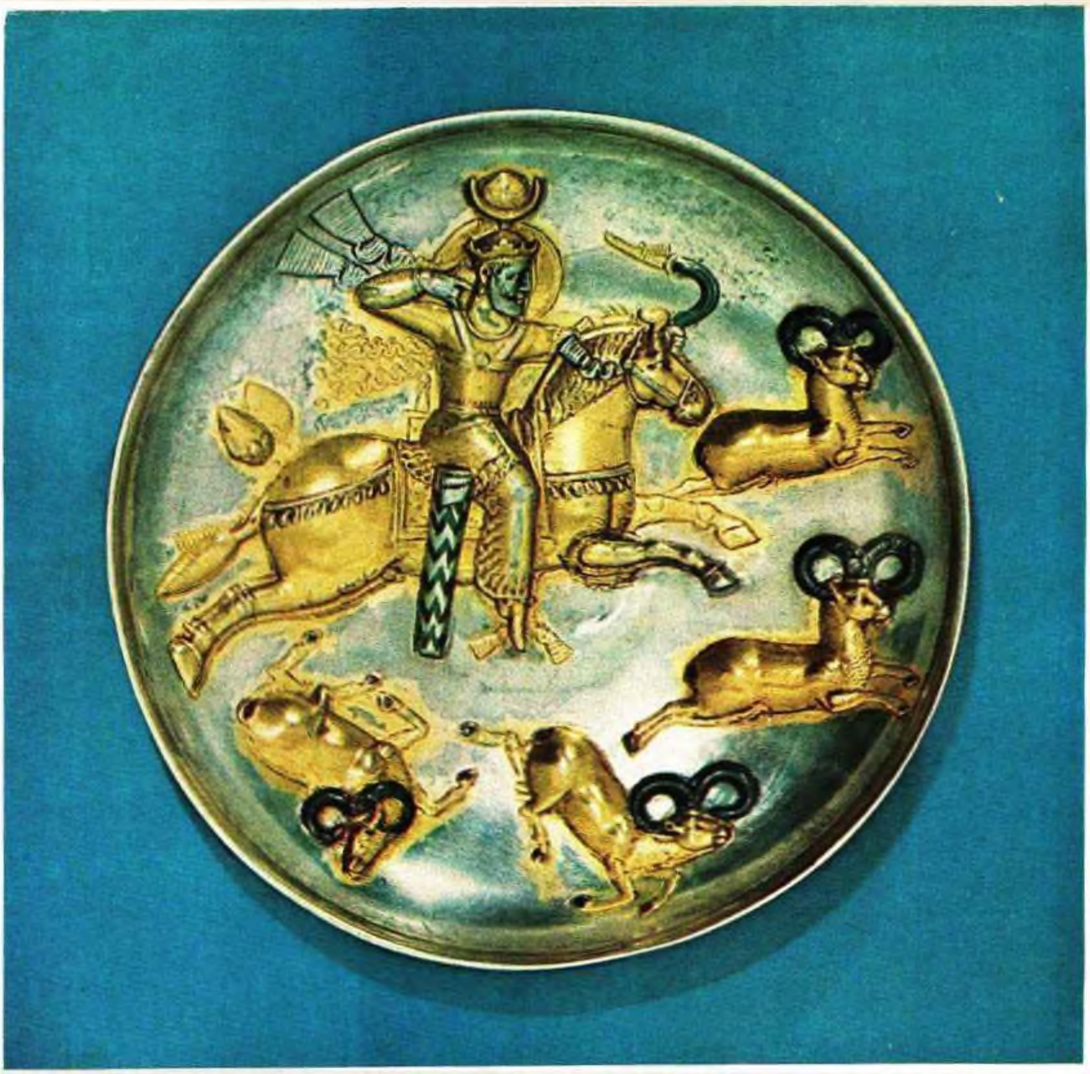


PLATE 59 – Sasanian silver bowl showing King Peroz (A.D. 457/9-484) hunting moufflons. Silver with partial mercury gilding. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Diameter 26 cm. Cf. p. 214.*

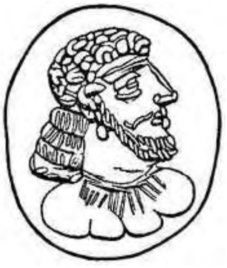


FIG. 120 – *Impression of a Sasanian seal of carnelian showing a male bust. Bezel. A. M. Voss-Hahn Collection.*

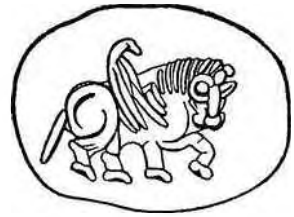
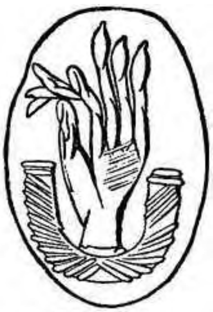


FIG. 121 – *Impression of Sasanian seal of onyx showing a winged horse. Bezel. A. M. Voss-Hahn Collection.*

precisely and beautifully carved into the surface of the seal-stones. All hemispherical seals are perforated to receive the metal loop by which they were attached as a pendant, since they could have hardly been worn in rings. Those which were worn in rings are flat bezels with a convex, concave or flat sealing surface, most frequently made of carnelian or sard. The fact that often the engraving of these stones is most effective if viewed against the light suggests that they should have been mounted in a movable setting. However, no such setting is preserved and the only extant rings with Sasanian seal-stones have the bezel solidly set into the metal. In addition to the red sard and carnelian, translucent chalcedonies and agates were most frequently employed for seal-stones. For the globular unfaceted seals, however, dark green jasper, flecked with red, and jasper breccia were also favoured. These colourful stones were highly polished and were in themselves lovely ornaments. Some connection may have existed between the shape of the seal-stone and the device of the engraving. This is especially true of the faceted and decoratively cut seals which frequently have a design of lilies on the base. The carving was done with much use of a mechanical drill, which produced globular forms. Details are usually indicated by lines which vary little in width and are judiciously applied to stress the main characterizing features.

The resulting globular appearance of the figures seems to have pleased Sasanian taste, since it conforms to a stylistic feature noted throughout the art of the period from reliefs to silver bowls. There is much variety in Sasanian seals, some of which are carefully engraved, others cursorily done; but the spacing is usually good and a certain assurance in the engraving differentiates the genuine seals from modern forgeries. The style may have originated in the eastern part of the empire, but at present it is difficult to speculate about a chronological and topographical classification of the material because the impressions of seals found in excavations have not yet been published. Most of these seals on clay bullae[43]

Fig. 122 – *Impression of a Sasanian seal of colourless chalcedony showing a hand holding a blossom. Shape of seal: sphere flattened on both sides and at the base. A. M. Voss-Hahn Collection.*



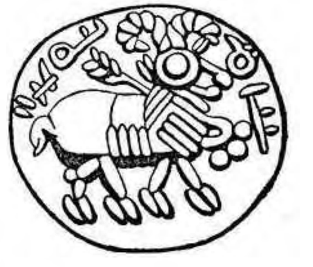


Fig. 123 – *Impression of a Sasanian seal showing a ram. Shape of seal: sphere of grey agate flattened at base. A. M. Voss-Hahn Collection.*

occur in groups centering around the large imprint of the seal of an official. Such official seals must have played an important role. According to Arab writers Khusraw II (590–628) had nine seals of state, and guarding the seals was an important office. From the impressions and extant seals we learn that some of the dignitaries merely had inscriptions engraved on their seals but others had busts, presumably of themselves and carved according to fixed conventions: the nose is indicated by a straight line and the nostril by a sharp curve, two pointed ovals form the lips, a long thin curving line renders the moustache, and short curving lines indicate the outline of the pointed beard and the hair, although this may also be shown by more rounded incisions. The eye is shown by a small ball set between the acute angle of the lids, over which arches the strong curve of the eyebrow. Usually the high officials who are portrayed by these busts also wear necklaces and ear-rings, the latter indicated by a minute globular pendant. Such carefully cut heads, however, are in the minority among the large number of those which are rendered in a very cursory manner. FIG. 120

Equally frequent as human heads or busts or palmettes are representations of animals. Of these the most common is perhaps the winged horse, seen in the same pose as the horses on the relief of Ardashir, with the neck bent in a semicircular curve and one leg raised in a complementary curve. Even more than the human heads these horses are rendered according to a fixed scheme. Other animals often shown are stag, bull and ram, the latter wearing a necklace with the pleated ribbons of the royal diadem. The meaning of such renderings of a ram was probably connected with the auspicious royal radiance (*xvarnah*) mentioned above on page 202. FIG. 121 FIG. 123

Another frequent group of designs shows either a female figure holding blossoms, a hand holding blossoms, or only one or more blossoms. The clue for the interpretation of all these seals is given by a more extensive scene in which a small female worshipper stands in adoration before a large female figure holding FIG. 122

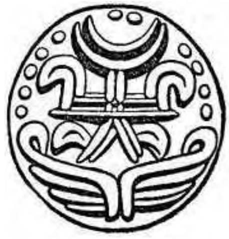


FIG. 124 – *Impression of a so-called Sasanian monogram seal of lapis lazuli. A. M. Voss-Hahn Collection.*

blossoms, surely the Persian goddess Anahita.[44] We may therefore conclude that the hand holding blossoms, or blossoms alone, can stand for the same goddess and that part of her features and symbols can represent the whole deity.

Unfortunately there are very few such carefully engraved scenes which would permit us to identify with certainty other gods and their symbols, the great variety of which cannot be adequately exemplified here.

A large number of Sasanian seals are decorated with so-called monograms. The simplest form consists of a moon crescent which tops a horizontal bar that terminates on either side in a curving hook. The precise meaning of these monograms is still unknown, though they have been associated with peasants' house marks and also with objects resembling standards which are used by some nomadic peoples.[45] Their occurrence in seals, however, surely indicates that they served one of the principal functions of the seal-stone, namely to protect the wearer and bring him good fortune. FIG. 124

SILKS Remains of Sasanian silks woven with elaborate patterns came to the churches and monasteries of the West as wrappings of Christian relics. There are therefore many fragments preserved in European collections which give some idea of the brilliantly coloured and effectively patterned garments worn by the Sasanians. After the fall of the Sasanian empire Byzantine silk-weavers continued the Sasanian tradition for centuries with few changes in pattern but with more muted colours.

PLATE 60 Our example shows such Byzantine work; the pattern consists of two identical medallions each framing a dog-bird, the so-called Senmurw, facing right. Rosettes with pearl borders are placed at the point where the two medallions touch. The border of the medallions is formed by rinceaux of Hellenistic derivation. The design is woven in white, purplish red, soft green and yellow on a dark blue background. The principal figure of the pattern, the Senmurw, seems to have been used exclusively for the robes of the king, to judge by the renderings on the reliefs of Taq-i Bustan. On these reliefs alone he has a pattern of two Senmurws placed symmetrically opposite each other on either side of an imaginary axis. The Senmurw is known only in Sasanian art. He has the head of a dog or wolf, the forepaws of the same animal, great wings at the shoulders and the tail of a peacock. For a long time there seemed to be no connection between this monster and the lion dragons or griffins of earlier times, but recently some indication of possible connections has become known.[46]

Other textile patterns are preserved in the renderings of the non-royal participants in the hunts at Taq-i Bustan. Geometric, vegetal and animal motifs appear in scatter patterns or aligned in rows, or fitted into squares or circles. Blossoms conform to these basic forms of square and circle and are usually divisible by four.

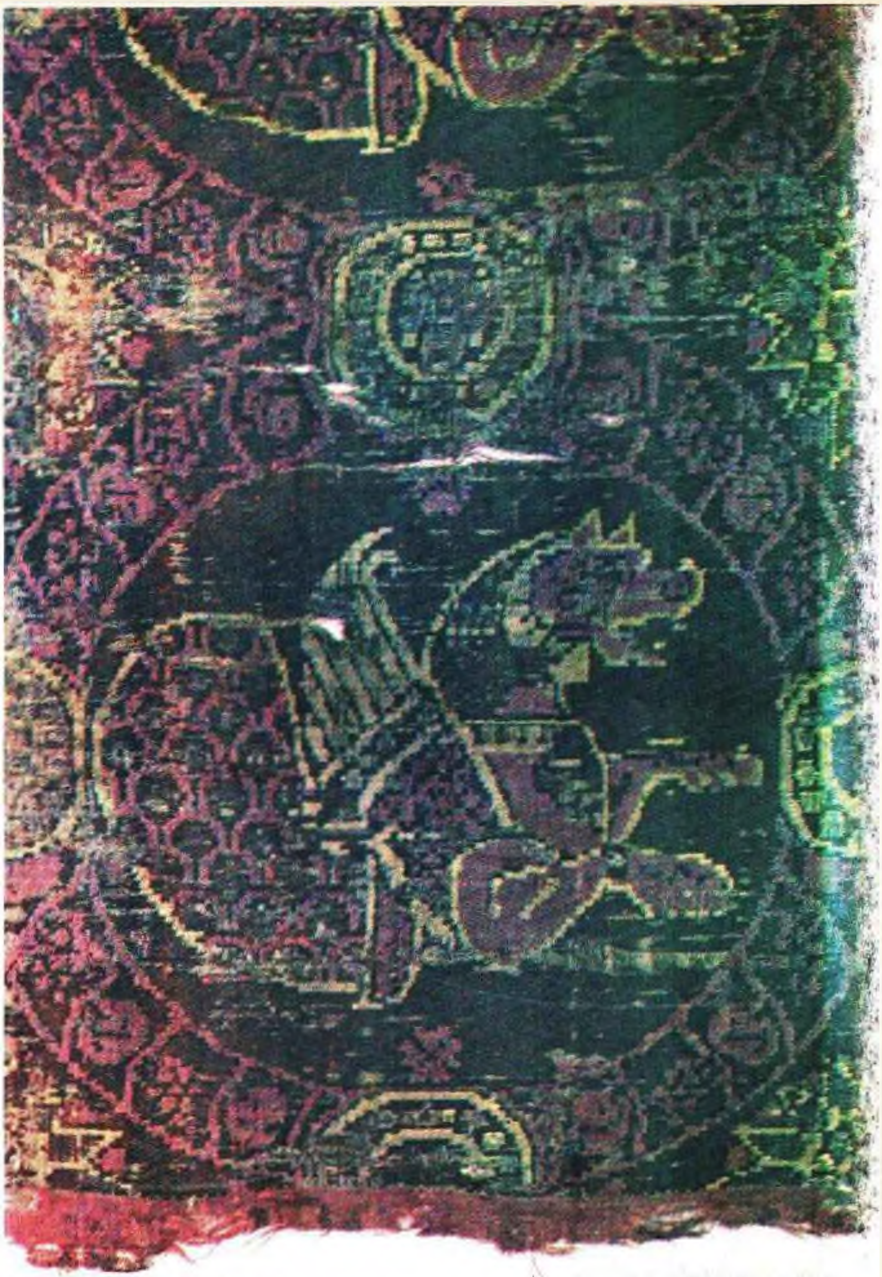


PLATE 60 – A Byzantine version of a Sasanian silk pattern. 7th–10th century. *Cooper Union Museum. Height 30 cm, width 16 cm. Cf. p. 222.*

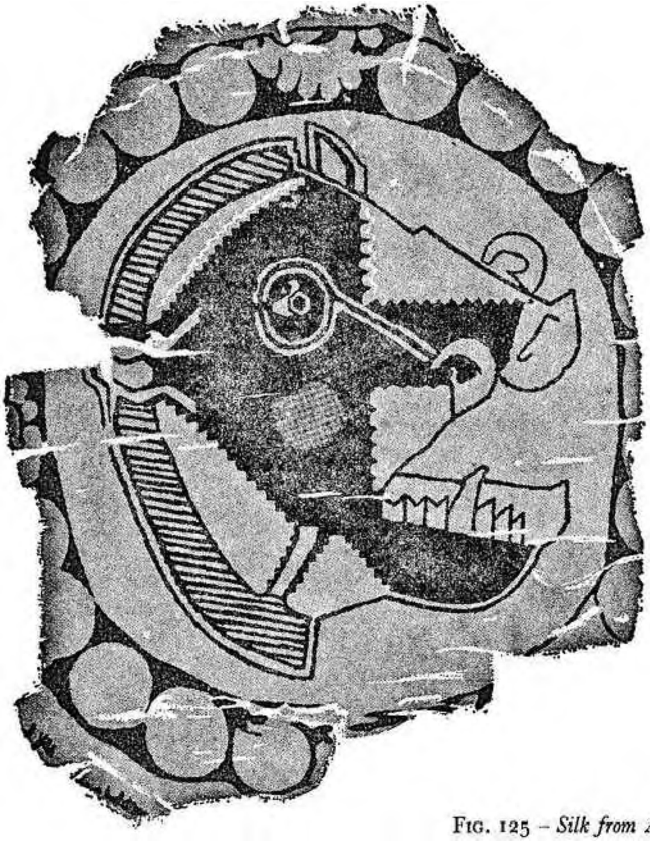


FIG. 125 – *Silk from Astana. Museum, New Delhi.*

Patterns are frequently composed of birds, ducks, fowl, parrot or eagle, which are combined with other elements such as floral medallions, or borders of hearts, to form a clearly organized pattern in which each element retains its individual value. Like all other works of Sasanian art with figured decoration, the textile patterns were surely also meant to bring the wearer luck and recommend him to the protection of the gods.

FIG. 125 Thus a textile with the head of a boar is probably to be interpreted as protection for a warrior. The most impressive and best preserved fragment of such a textile was found in Central Asia. Within a border of pearls appears the powerful head of the animal, which seems all the larger in contrast to the small eye, which is stressed by the surrounding rim. The open muzzle shows the sharp teeth of the lower jaw and also fills the circle better than a head with closed muzzle. The second tusk and the second ear which are added to the sharp profile of forehead and snout are remains of the three-quarter view favoured in the Hellenistic period. The head is divided up into smaller planes which are set off from each other by stepped patterns. Horizontal striping appears only in the collared mane which terminates the head at the back, as in the stucco relief from Damghan. In both renderings the mane gives a certain height and dignity to the animal's brow.

Most of the lines meet at an acute or a right angle. In part this effect may have been caused by the technique of weaving, though this would apply more to a coarser weave than to the fine silk from Astana. The effect of the pattern, however, was surely stressed intentionally since the sharp angles give to the symbol of the god of war an expression of aggressiveness and defensibility.

We may look back from here to the small figure of a boar from Tepe Sarab, in which its characteristic outline, even its movement, was rendered by modest means. The animal as such seems to have been portrayed in the clay figurine. In the textile pattern and in the stucco relief from Damghan, both created after many millennia, the artist no longer wanted to show merely the animal; he wanted to express, through the form of the animal, human qualities raised to the superhuman divine level.

Both the early and the late renderings give only essentials. By excluding all indications of time and place, such as the three-quarter view of the later period — which was given up in the textile pattern of the boar's head in favour of a pure profile view, in the concentration on basic forms, and in the use of these forms for decorative purposes resides much of the attraction of Iranian art.

The wide distribution of the textiles and other products shows that the art of the Sasanians, heirs to the ancient artistic tradition of Iran, was understood and appreciated in the early Middle Ages from China to Europe.

The great revival of an appreciation of Iranian art in our own time is due to the influence of modern art. Modern art has educated us to esteem varied 'patternizations' of natural forms and to analyse with interest the creation of new forms, suggestive of life, from what are actually quite abstract elements. The expression of this art, however, often intense and powerful, belongs to a world of thought into which we may rarely if ever penetrate.

APPENDICES

NOTES

In this new and controversial field of ancient Iranian art it would have been unfair to ask the reader to accept my statements without providing an opportunity to check my sources. Hence the notes. These are preceded by a list of the abbreviated titles of books, articles, and periodicals cited in the notes and in the list of text figures. If a note refers to a publication mentioned in a preceding note, that publication is cited as *op. cit.* followed by the Roman number of the relevant chapter and the Arabic number of the note; e.g.: in note III/2. The same formula, however, is occasionally used for volume and number as in *Iranica Antiqua* III/2.

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Ghirshman, *Bîchâpour*	R. Ghirshman, *Bîchâpour* II: *Les Mosaïques sassanides* (Musée du Louvre, département des antiquités orientales...; série archéologique VII: *Fouilles de Châpour*. Paris, 1956).
Ghirshman, *Iran*	R. Ghirshman, *Iran: the Story of Persia from the Earliest Times until Its Unique Iranian Civilization was Transformed by the Islamic Conquest* (Penguin Books. Harmondsworth, 1954).
Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962)	R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art: the Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 B.C.-A.D. 651* (The Arts of Mankind. Translated from the French. New York, 1962).

Ghirshman, *Sept Mille Ans*	R. Ghirshman, *Sept Mille Ans d'art en Iran* (Exposition: Petit Palais, Oct. 1961-Jan. 1962. Paris [1961]).
Ghirshman, *Sialk* I, II	R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk près de Kashan* 1933, 1934, 1937; I, II (Musée du Louvre, département des antiquités orientales; série archéologique IV, V. Paris, 1938, 1939).
Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran*	A. Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran* (Paris, 1962).
Godard, *Ziwiyè*	A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyè* (*Kurdistan*) (Publication of the Archaeological Service of Iran, Haarlem, 1950).
Herzfeld, *Iran*	E. E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (Oxford University Press, London, New York, 1941).
Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*	Sir A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh* (London, 1849).
Parrot, *Assyria*	A. Parrot, *The Arts of Assyria* (The Arts of Mankind. Translated from the French. New York, 1961).
Parrot, *Sumer*	A. Parrot, *The Arts of Sumer* (The Arts of Mankind. Translated from the French. New York, 1961).
Persepolis I, II	*See* Schmidt, *Persepolis*.
Piotrovskii, *Vanskoe Tsarstvo*	B. B. Piotrovskii, *Vanskoe Tsarstvo* (*Urartu*). (Akademia Nauk, SSSR, Moscow, 1959).
Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie*	C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale* (*IIIe et IIe millénaires*) (Oxford University Press, Oxford, London, 1948).
Schmidt, *Persepolis* I	E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* I: *Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (*OIP* LXVIII, 1953).
Schmidt, *Persepolis* II	E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* II: *Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (*OIP* XLIX, 1957).
Survey I and IV	A. U. Pope (ed.), *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (Oxford University Press, London, New York, Oxford, 1938). Vols. I, IV (Text and plates of the pre-Islamic periods).
Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie*	L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Irān ancien* (Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui VI, Leyden, 1959).
Von der Osten, *Welt der Perser*	H. H. Von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser* (Stuttgart, 1956).
Young, *Proto-Historic Western Iran*	T. Cuyler Young, Jr., *Proto-Historic Western Iran: an Archaeological and Historical Review, Problems and Possible Interpretations* (Dissertation.... University of Pennsylvania; University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963).

PERIODICALS AND SERIALS

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*, revised edition of vols. I and II, issued in fascicles (Cambridge University Press, 1962 ff.).
ILN	*The Illustrated London News*
Iran	*Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
MDP	*Mémoires de la délégation en Perse* I-XIII (Paris, 1900-1912). Also used for the following variations in the titles of books in the same series:
(*MDP ctd*)	*Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Susiane* XIV (Paris, 1913); *La Mission archéologique de Perse* XV (Paris, 1914); *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse, mission de Susiane* XVI-XXVIII (Paris, 1943-1954).
OIC	*University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Communications.*
OIP	*University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications.*
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*

I

[1] For a description of the Khuzistan region and its connections with Mesopotamia, see Adams, 'Early South-western Iran,' p. 109.

[2] Ann L. Perkins, in *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, ed. R. W. Ehrich (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 42, pointed to the fact that northern Mesopotamia lay 'in the path of migratory movements and commerce between Syria and Iran (and farther Asia) and the lands bordering the Mediterranean.'

[3] For a discussion of these 'areas of refuge,' see Frye, *Heritage of Persia*, pp. 7-9.

[4] The ornaments of the wooden horses from the equestrian statue in the Rumbur valley, Kafiristan, are reproduced in *ILN* (March 30, 1963), p. 468, lower left. In the time of King Sargon (721-705 B.C.), Assyrian horses had similar ornaments worn in the same way, as shown in Barnett, *Assyrian Reliefs*, Pl. 43. Herzfeld, *Iran*, p. 141, Fig. 256, reproduced drawings of several slightly differing ornaments of this type, two of which are Assyrian, one comes from Luristan, another from the Ordos region. Examples made of shell in various shapes, which were found at Nimrud, are in the Metropolitan Museum, acc. nos. 54.117.16-19.

[5] For an archaeological survey of Seistan, see W. A. Fairservis, *Archeological Studies in the Seistan Basin of Southwestern Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 48, New York, 1961).

[6] Numerous sources of copper are known elsewhere in Iran; see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* IX (Leyden, 1964), p. 9.

[7] Textual evidence for ancient trade in metal from Elam is very limited. W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period* (Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui... VI, Leyden, 1960), gives a few references for tin, *op. cit.*, p. 124, and for copper, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84. That the principal copper trade did not go through Susa in the late third and early second millennium B.C. but through Dilmun was demonstrated by A. L. Oppenheim, 'The Seafaring Merchants of Ur,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 74 (1954), pp. 6-17.

II

[1] For the excavations of the most striking female figurines as yet found in the Near East, see J. Mellaart, 'Excavations at Çatal Hüyük,' *Anatolian Studies* XII (1962), p. 57; XIII (1963), pp. 82-95. For those of Hacilar, see *Anatolian Studies* XI (1961), pp. 47-61.

[2] Herbert Read, *The Meaning of Art* (Pelican Books, reprinted 1950, 1951), Paragraph 22, pp. 32 and 33.

[3] For the excavation of Tall-i Nokhodi, see Clare Goff in *Iran* I (1963), pp. 43-70; II (1964), pp. 41-52.

[4] The same pattern as on the bowl in the Metropolitan Museum is shown by a potsherd excavated by T. Burton-Brown at Kara Tepe in Shahriyar; see *Archaeology* 15 (Spring 1962), p. 29, upper right.

[5] The analysis of the Susa pottery by E. Pottier was published in *MDP* XIII (1912), pp. 27-103.

[6] Excavations at Ali Kosh in the Susiana were carried out by F. Hole and K. V. Flannery and published in *Iranica Antiqua* II/2 (1962), pp. 97-148.

[7] The stamp seals of Iran will be discussed in the second volume of the *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*.

[8] The bowl with a human figure was published in *MDP* XIII (1912), p. II : 3.

[9] For the changes in the pottery in the 'Intermediate Period' at Susa, see L. Le Breton, 'The Early Periods at Susa,' *Iraq* XIX (1957), pp. 94-101.

[10] For a figure with ibex horns see the interesting stamp seals and impressions from Susa B published by Amiet, *Glyptique*, Pl. 6, Figs. 117-120, especially Fig. 119: A where the ibex horns seem to rise from a fez-like headgear.

[11] J. Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra* II (University Museum, Philadelphia, 1950), Pl. CLXIII: 81, perhaps also Pl. CLXIV:94, 95, where the horns, however, are more those of a gazelle. A large round stamp seal found at Tell Asmar, in the Diyala valley, with a group of proto-literate stamp seals and beads, also shows what might be a gazelle horn rather than ibex or moufflon horns; see *OIC* 19 (1935), p. 29, Fig. 30. The demon, however, is rendered with the snakes with which he is associated on our steatite plaque from Susa A, Plate 5, above, and probably renders a related type of superhuman creature.

III

[1] For the decipherment of some of the texts with linear Elamite script, see W. Hinz, 'Zur Entzifferung der elamischen Strichschrift,' *Iranica Antiqua* II/1 (1962), pp. 1-21.

[2] For the lively scenes on seal impressions from Susa, see Amiet, *Glyptique*, Pls. 14-17 and Pl. 46, Fig. 659; for the observation that the silos resemble those of Egypt, see p. 104, remarks about Pl. 16, Figs. 267-269; Pl. 36, Fig. 555; Pl. 37, Figs. 567, 568.

[3] For the impressions and extant seals assigned by Amiet to the 'Proto-Elamite' style, see *op. cit* (in note III/2), Pls. 32-38 bis, to Fig. I.

[4] Unfortunately the impression of the seal published in Delaporte, *Louvre* I, Pl. 24:8 (S. 254), was not fully reproduced on the present plate, Plate 5, owing to erroneous cutting on the part of the engraver.

[5] For a discussion of this leonine demon, see E. Porada, 'A Leonine Figure of the Protoliterate Period of Mesopotamia,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70 (1950), pp. 223-226.

[6] A posture with both fists held below the breast is seen in the male figure from Uruk published by E. Strom-

menger, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (Munich, 1962), Pl. 33.

[7] The suggestion was made by Amiet, *op. cit.* (in note III/2), p. 109.

[8] This interpretation agrees in part with the one given by Frankfort in *Art and Architecture*, p. 19.

[9] For publication of the vase and a drawing of the entire representation, see *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXIV (1937), p. 151.

IV

[1] For comments on the 'link between the plain and the mountains' which was 'one of the fundamental factors of Elamite history,' see W. Hinz, 'Persia, *c.* 2400-1800 B.C.,' *CAH* I/XXIII (1963), p. 4. E. Reiner and M.-J. Stève are very doubtful of the validity of some of Hinz' historical interpretations.

[2] A good photograph of Naramsin's relief from Darband-i Gawr is found in Von der Osten, *Welt der Perser*, Pl. 9. Details of the relief are reproduced in the article by E. Strommenger, 'Das Felsrelief von Darband-i-Gaur' *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2 (1963), Pls. 15-18. For the reliefs of Sar-i Pul, see N. C. Debevoise, 'The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran,' *JNES* I (1942), pp. 80-82.

[3] See Hinz, *op. cit.* (in note IV/1), p. 21 for the quotation from the Khita treaty with the appeal to the goddess Pinikir, and pp. 21-32 for a summary of religion in ancient Elam.

[4] For a disk-shaped bronze pin-head of Luristan type with a figure wearing a feather crown, see A. U. Pope, *Masterpieces of Persian Art* (New York, 1945), p. 32 (Pl. 16), lower right.

[5] For an article on this cylinder seal, see E. Porada in *Compte rendu de l'onzième rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Leyden, 1964), pp. 88-93.

[6] The theme of eagle and serpent was treated by R. Wittkower, 'Eagle and Serpent; a Study in the Migration of Symbols,' *Journal of the Warburg Institute* II (1938-1939), pp. 293-325.

[7] This attribution may be correct although seals of this type were discovered at Tell Asmar in the Diyala valley of eastern Mesopotamia in levels which preceded the end of the Akkad period; see H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region (OIP* LXXII, 1955), Pl. 49, No. 514; Pl. 53, Nos. 558, 567; Pl. 56, Nos. 596, 597; Pl. 60, No. 629; Pl. 69, No. 748.

[8] The earlier excavations at Tureng Tepe were carried out and published by F. R. Wulsin, 'Excavations at Tureng Tepe near Asterabad,' *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, Supplement 2/1 (New York, 1932). For the excavations being carried on at present, see J. Deshayes, 'Rapport préliminaire sur les deux premières campagnes de fouille à Tureng Tepe,' *Syria* XL (1963), pp. 85-99.

[9] For the discovery of the grey figurine from Tureng Tepe, see Wulsin, *op. cit.* (in note IV/8), p. 10; the head of a similar statuette was reproduced by him, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII, Fig. 2.

[10] Deshayes, *op. cit.* (in note IV/8), p. 99, would like to date these levels at Tureng Tepe in the third millennium B.C. V. E. Crawford, however, reported that a carbon-14 sample of a Hissar III B level from Yarim Tepe yielded a date between 2200 and 1900 B.C.; see *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (April 1963), p. 271.

[11] For the possible association of the grey ware with the Indo-European Iranians, see Cuyler Young, *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, especially pp. 231-232.

[12] For the hoard on the Treasure Hill where these ornaments were found, see E. F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damghan* (The University Museum, Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 171-173 and 189.

[13] See K. Jettmar, 'Ethnological Research in Dardistan 1958; Preliminary Report,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 105 (February 1961), p. 79.

[14] See Jettmar, *op. cit.* in note IV/13, pp. 88-91 for this and the following quotations. In note 58 he pointed out that at some places the urial, the wild sheep, is also included in the 'mayaro'.

V

[1] A translation with discussion of the text was given by A. Falkenstein, 'Die Ibbīsîn-Klage,' *Die Welt des Orients* (1950), pp. 377-384. I owe the English translation of the passage to D. O. Edzard.

[2] For a discussion of the removal of the Ningal statue, see D. O. Edzard, *Die 'zweite Zwischenzeit' Babyloniens* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 57.

[3] For a discussion of these statues, see E. Strommenger, 'Das Menschenbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik von Mesilim bis Hammurapi,' *Baghdader Mitteilungen* I (1960), pp. 72-74.

[4] For a summary of the relations between Elam and Mesopotamia from the end of the third millennium B.C. to the beginning of the second, see Hinz, 'Persia...' *(op. cit.* in note IV/1), pp. 12-20; for the imports from Susa to Mesopotamia, see *op. cit.*, p. 4. For the exports of barley and oil from Mesopotamia to Elam, see Leemans, *op. cit.* in note I/7, p. 116. The shrinking of trade can be deduced from the evidence presented by Leemans, especially p. 175.

[5] The probable oral nature of the local business and legal practices in Susa was discussed by L. Oppenheim in a study of the legal records from Susa and their relations to records from northern Mesopotamia, from the Hurrian town of Nuzi, and from Assur; see 'Der Eid in den Rechtsurkunden aus Susa,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XLIII (1936), pp. 242-262.

[6] R. Labat, 'Elam, *c.* 1600-1200 B.C.,' *CAH* II/XXIX (1963), pp. 4-6, stressed the ethnic changes which occurred in Elam toward the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries

B.C., and pointed to the likelihood of a considerable proportion of Hurrians among the newcomers.

[7] The division into an Old, Middle, and Neo-Elamite period is based on a terminology suggested by H. H. Paper for Elamite texts; see his 'Elamite Texts from Tchogha-Zambil,' *JNES* XIV (1955), p. 44. Paper merely made this suggestion for Middle Elamite texts, suggesting the use of Old Elamite for the 'proper names and isolated words and phrases embedded in Akkadian and Sumerian texts from Susa and elsewhere' before the beginning of Elamite literature. The term Neo-Elamite is introduced here, paralleling the general use of the terms Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian.

[8] A large group of Old Elamite cylinders was published by Delaporte, *Louvre* I, Pl. 34:2-10, which show the motif of a worshipper before an enthroned deity, with a vessel, an offering table, or a bird between the figures; Pl. 34:11-15, 17-21, and Pl. 35:1, 2, which are also Old Elamite but different in theme. Old Elamite cylinders with various themes were also published by M. Rutten in *Revue d'Assyriologie* XLIV (1950), Pl. IV: 35, Pl. V: 37, 40-51, Pl. VI:52-54, 56.

[9] For a discussion of imprints of Elamite style on tablets from Nuzi, see E. Porada, 'The Origin of Winnirke's Cylinder Seal,' *JNES* V (1946), pp. 257-259.

[10] The discussion of the cylinder seals from Tchoga Zanbil and the drawings of a few examples are excerpted from a manuscript on this material which I am preparing for publication at the invitation of R. Ghirshman. Drawings of cylinders from Susa were made by Paul Lampl after impressions which I was able to make at the Louvre with the kind permission of A. Parrot.

The dates of Untashgal and other Elamite kings are given according to G. G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936), pp. 230-231. R. Labat in 'Elam,' *CAH*, II/XXIX, pp. 3-13 and inside back cover, does not commit himself to absolute dates for the length of the rulers' reigns.

[11] The Neo-Elamite relief from Susa showing a prince wearing headgear of a pointed type is best reproduced in *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I, p. 274, where it is erroneously dated in the end of the second millennium B.C. The correct date: 653-648 B.C., for Addahamiti-Inshushinak, the king represented, is given by Debevoise in *JNES* I (1942), p. 84.

[12] That this was indeed the intention of the seal-cutter and not the representation of figures bound by the water-courses, as one might also think, is proved by the representation on a gold bowl in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran, reproduced in *Archaeology* 17 (Autumn 1964), p. 200.

[13] For Proto-Elamite abbreviated animal forms, see Amiet, *Glyptique*, Pl. 32, Fig. 516; Pl. 35, Fig. 550.

[14] What we call here *bitumen* is referred to as rock-asphalt in C. Singer et al., *A History of Technology* I (Oxford University Press, New York, London, 1954), p. 256, caption to Fig. 161.

[15] The leg of an object with an ibex, Plate 8 above, was published by De Mecquenem in a drawing in *MDP* XXIX (1943), p. 111, Fig. 83:4. The animal-shaped legs of a bitumen basin from Susa, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I, p. 248 C, show how the leg here reproduced was probably attached to a vessel. The bowl, Plate 8 below, was published in *MDP* XXV (1934), Pl. XII:1. De Mecquenem said about it *(op. cit.*, p. 211) that it was found 'A l'intérieur du sarcophage... pour l'ultime purification des mains du mort...' I have deduced from this statement that the object was found between the hands of the skeleton.

[16] For a reconstruction of the vessel, see *OIC* 20 (1936), p. 100, Fig. 79.

[17] This route seems to have been used even by Babylonian merchants when political disturbances interfered with the passage of valuable goods through central Mesopotamia; see Leemans, *op. cit.* (in note I/7), p. 171.

[18] The falcon was published in *MDP* XXV (1934), p. 210, Fig. 53:3. The blue inlays, unfortunately, seem to have disappeared between the summer of 1960, when I saw them and photographed the object which was then still intact, and the summer of 1962 when they were no longer there. I was told that the objects in the hall had been moved about a great deal and we may presume that the inlays were lost at that time. The inlays were referred to as enamel by the excavator, but they seemed to me to be of the powdery blue composition called 'Egyptian blue , described by F. R. Matson in *Persepolis* II, pp. 133-135. A small head which was found in the same group of graves as the falcon was made of the same composition; see *ibid.*, Fig. 53:14.

[19] See especially the rings (C. L. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery* [Ur Excavations II, 1934], Pl. 138, U. 10878, U. 9778) but also a circular pendant *(ibid.*, Pl. 133, U. 8565) and even the silver hair ornaments inlaid with gold, sheel, lapis lazuli and red limestone (Pl. 136, text p. 240) which are decorated in this technique.

[20] The jewellery was published in *MDP* XXIX (1943), p. 15, Fig. 12, and dated by Le Breton in the time of Susa Cb *(Iraq* XIX, 1957, p. 109, Fig. 27). This date seems to have been based on the position of the tomb rather than on its contents, which should be studied more carefully before one can be certain of their date.

[21] Unfortunately irregular lines were scratched on our plate; the regular pattern of the original is rendered in the drawing *MDP* XXV (1934), p. 210, Fig. 53:15.

[22] Similar cords transposed into bronze are seen on bronze hammers, of which one has an inscription of King Shulgi of the Third Dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2097-2051 B.C.); see J. Deshayes, 'Marteaux de bronze iraniens,' *Syria* XXXV (1958), p. 287, Fig. 3, bottom.

The silver head from Susa was considered by De Mecquenem to be the head of a staff; see 'Têtes de cannes susiennes en métal,' *Revue d'Assyriologie* XLVII (1953), pp. 79-82. A drawing was reproduced on p. 81, Fig. 2:3.

[23] A cylinder of Mitannian style with an Elamite inscription is in the collection of M. Foroughi and will be published in 1966 in *Iranica Antiqua*.

[24] See especially the report on the excavations at Tchoga Zanbil in *Arts asiatiques* VIII (1961), pp. 251-254, where the ingenious installations for a reservoir are discussed.

[25] For a summary in English of the architecture of Tchoga Zanbil, see Labat in 'Elam...,' *CAH* II/XXIX (1963), pp. 17-22. Labat writes the name of the founder of Tchoga Zanbil as Untash-(d) *GAL*; see *ibid.*, p. 9 and note 1. I have adopted this writing for the same reasons that he gives in the cited note, but have simplified the name in the text for smoother reading to Untashgal.

[26] For the 'postament' with niches, see Ghirshman in *Arts asiatiques* II (1955), p. 172, Fig. 11, and pp. 176-177.

[27] For the description of the 'royal gate,' see Ghirshman in *Arts asiatiques* IV (1957), pp. 116-119.

[28] For the restoration of the bull by Mme. Ghirshman, see *Arts asiatiques* VI (1959), pp. 279-280.

[29] For a description of these 'offering tables' and the other elements of the cultic installations here described, see Ghirshman in *Arts asiatiques* IV (1957), pp. 120-122.

[30] For Ghirshman's description of the tombs at Tchoga Zanbil, see *Arts asiatiques* VI (1959), pp. 272-278. For the plan of the palace of Adad Nirari I with the royal sepulchres, see C. Preusser, *Die Paläste in Assur (WVDOG* 66, 1955), Pl. 4. For Sennacherib's inscription on a brick of the royal sepulchre at Assur, see D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib (OIP* II, 1924), p. 151, XIII.

[31] De Mecquenem made this suggestion in *Vivre et Penser*, 3me série, which corresponds to *Revue Biblique* 52 (1945), p. 141. P. Amiet kindly drew my attention to this article.

[32] For the publication of the model by J. E. Gautier, see 'Le «Sit-Šamši» de Šilhak In Šušinak,' *MDP* XII (1911), pp. 143-151.

[33] The statue of Napirasu was described by G. Lampre, *MDP* VIII (1905), pp. 245-250. For an enlarged detail of the hands, see Parrot, *Sumer*, p. 323, Fig. 399.

[34] The head of an Elamite was published as Pre-Achaemenid in *Survey* IV, Pls. 105, 106. I. M. Diakonov was the first to recognize that the head belonged to the early art of Iran; see 'On an Ancient Oriental Sculpture' (English summary of an article in Russian), Musée de l'Ermitage, trav. du département oriental IV (Leningrad, 1947) *(Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh; Trudy Otdela Vostoka)*, pp. 117-118. Diakonov made a careful comparison of the stylization of the beard with those of other sculptures, mostly Mesopotamian, and pointed to the close relation which exists with the stylizations of the Akkad period. In view of the tendency of Iranian art to retain earlier traits over many centuries, I think that a date for the head after the Akkad period, in the middle of the second millennium B.C., is possible.

[35] A rendering of the eyes with the lower lid rising perceptibly at the outer end, to create the impression of slightly oblique position, is also seen in the head of a bearded Elamite of clay from Susa, juxtaposed with a photograph of the bronze head by Parrot in *Sumer*, pp. 330, 331, Figs. 406 and 407.

[36] The dedication of a golden statue of the king can be found among the names of years from the reigns of the Babylonian kings Ammiditana (*c.* 1684-1647 B.C.) and Samsuditana (*c.* 1626-1595 B.C.); see Unger, 'Datenlisten,' in Ebeling-Meissner, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II, p. 189:245 (Ammiditana), and *JNES* XIV (1955), p. 156:XI/21 and perhaps XI/23 (Samsuditana). The formula which mentions a statue of gold and of silver (Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 192:288) probably was due to an error on the part of one of the modern translators of the text; see J. J. Finkelstein in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* XIII (1959), p. 47:k.

[37] For the description of the Inshushinak deposit and of the deposit in the vicinity: the gold statuette and associated finds, see *MDP* VII (1905), pp. 61-130 and 131-136.

[38] This statement is found in the article in *Vivre et Penser*, cited in note V/31, p. 141.

[39] The lion's head of the whetstone is not unlike that of the axe from Tchoga Zanbil (well reproduced in Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, Fig. 14), despite the more rounded forms of the latter.

[40] In an article entitled 'Archaische Zügelringe; zur Auflösung der Gattung "Luristanbronzen",' to be published in the Festschrift for A. Moortgat, P. Calmeyer attempts to place all rein-rings of similar shape, including our PLATE 13, in the third millennium B.C. Without stratigraphic proof for a survival of earlier types into later periods, my argument for a later date cannot be pressed.

[41] For the fragmentary figures of Napirasu, her mother and her consort in the upper register of the stele, see *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I, p. 270 C, also Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie*, Pl. 102c.

[42] We find in the human-headed bulls of a bitumen vase from Susa, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I, p. 255, A, a profile related to that of the demon on the stele of Untashgal. Again inhabitants of the mountain regions may have been in the mind of the artist who carved these creatures of primeval strength recumbent among the characteristic Elamite pine-trees growing on mountains.

[43] We can do no more here than point to the possibility of the survival of early iconographical features in later literary concepts. Detailed comparisons, however, can be made only by scholars who have first-hand knowledge of the late literary texts.

[44] The relief in the central panel was placed in the Guti

period and the procession of figures was considered to have been made earlier by N. C. Debevoise in 'Rock Reliefs in Ancient Iran,' *JNES* I (1942), p. 78. Herzfeld placed the relief in the time of Gudea; see *Iran*, p. 188. Some indications, however, seem to point to a later date, for example, the hair style of the enthroned god, which seems to resemble that of warriors on a bronze relief of the late second millennium B.C.; see *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I, p. 275. Though the latter relief is not inscribed, it is nevertheless probable that it was set up by Shilhak Inshushinak about 1130 B.C. in the temple of Inshushinak at Susa; see R. Labat, 'Elam and Western Persia, *c.* 1200-1000 B.C.,' *CAH* II/XXXII (1964), p. 17. Vanden Berghe, who followed the dating of earlier writers in *Archéologie*, p. 58, states in *Iranica Antiqua* III/1 (1963), p. 32 (note 3 continued from p. 31) that the central scene is much older than the procession of figures, which he tentatively dates in the eighth century B.C.

[45] See the reference to the relief of 'Addahamiti-Inshushinak' in note V/11.

[46] Naqia, the mother of Esharhaddon (680-669 B.C.), is represented with such a crown in Parrot, *Assyria*, p. 118, Fig. 133. The wife of Ashurbanipal, Ashursharrat, was shown with such a crown in the so-called Garden Scene reproduced by Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, Pl. 114, and on her stele; for the latter, see Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur* (*WVDOG* 24, 1913), p. 7, Fig. 3 and Pl. X, stele I.

[47] We differentiate here between faience, a composite material consisting of a body or core 'of finely powdered quartz grains cemented together by fusion with small amounts of an alkali or lime or both,' and earthenware in which the body contains clay. Both are glazed but earthenware objects have to have a siliceous covering to which the glaze can adhere. The quotation about the composition of faience was taken from J. F. S. Stone and L. C. Thomas, 'The Use and Distribution of Faience in the Ancient East and Prehistoric Europe,' *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* N.S. XXII (1956), pp. 37-84, especially p. 38.

[48] Especially interesting are the doors, found at Tchoga Zanbil, which were decorated with glass rods; see Ghirshman, *Arts asiatiques* III (1956), p. 169, Fig. 8. De Mecquenem found one hundred kilos of such rods without recognizing how they had been used; see *MDP* XXIII (1953), Pl. B:1 and pp. 52-53, Fig. 20:1, 2.

[49] For the sculptures from Nuzi, see R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* (Cambridge, 1937), Pls. 110: A and 111; for an analysis of the glaze, see *ibid.*, pp. 523-525. For the bull from Tchoga Zanbil, see note 28 above.

[50] The earliest glazed bricks dated with any certainty are the orthostates of Tukulti Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.); see W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur* (Berlin, 1925), Pls. 7, 8.

[51] It will be interesting to see whether this colour was produced by copper compounds as in Egypt or by cobalt, which was available in Persia; see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. revised by Y. R. Harris (London, 1962), p. 189.

[52] To the same time, the reign of Kutir-Nahhunte after 1160 B.C., belong the brick reliefs, conveniently reproduced by Parrot, *Sumer*, p. 329, Fig. 405.

[53] The fragment of the horned animal, Fig. 44, which I believe to come from a late tile, is shown in the reproduction (*MDP* I (1900), Pl. VI, upper left) with a strong yellow colour like PLATE 14 below, which I consider an earlier tile.

[54] Ivory boxes which resemble the Elamite faience jars in shape are represented among the Nimrud ivories; see R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (British Museum, London, 1957), Pls. XVI-XXIV. The small ivory head with the diadem of rosettes and double lotus-blossoms was published in *ILN* (Aug. 16, 1952), p. 255, Figs. 8, 9. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 54.117.8.

Perhaps the rosettes and lotus-petals placed above and below a double band are derived from Hittite hieroglyphs with an auspicious meaning. This would help to explain the frequent occurrence and longevity of the motif, especially its use on the crown of Darius at Bisutun, Fig. 85.

[55] An undecorated situla was found at Hasanlu in a context of the ninth century B.C. Perhaps this means that the situlae decorated with repoussé were later. Mme. Maliki, who published the finest situla so far known, gave numerous reasons for dating the piece in the twelfth to tenth centuries B.C. and proposed to see in the situlae a group of objects from Luristan which extends over several centuries; see 'Situle à scène de banquet,' *Iranica Antiqua* I (1961), pp. 21-41. I am inclined to call the situla Elamite and to date it in the ninth or eighth century B.C. on the basis of the hair style of the principal male figure, which differs from that of King Marduknadinahhe cited by Mme. Maliki. Moreover, I do not know of another example of the empty honeycomb pattern of the figure's robe, which should be dated before the first millennium B.C.

[56] The point that bronze shields were 'for ritual and show,' leather for use, was demonstrated by J. M. Coles in *ILN* (March 2, 1963), pp. 299-301.

VI

[1] H. Field noted that this procedure was 'practised by Yezidis and Kurds in northern Iraq and by villagers between Isfahan and Shiraz in Iran'; see *Antiquity* X (1936), p. 223.

[2] The daggers with inscriptions were assembled by W. Nagel in 'Die Königsdolche der Zweiten Dynastie von Isin,' *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIX (1959-1960), pp. 95-104. A new group of such daggers, augmented by inscribed axes and arrow-heads, was published by G.

Dossin, 'Bronzes inscrits du Luristan de la collection Foroughi,' *Iranica Antiqua* II/2 (1962), pp. 149-164. The theory that the daggers were given to mercenaries or auxiliaries in recognition for their services was taken up by me in my article 'Nomads and Luristan Bronzes,' *Dark Ages*, p. 111 ff.; see especially note 10 contributed by J. A. Brinkman. I reserve judgment on a dagger of Luristan type which has the name of Darius in Old Persian cuneiform signs inscribed on one side, but on the other side signs which do not make any sense; see R. Borger and H. R. Uhlemann, 'Ein neues achämenidisches Schwert,' *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XX (Jan.-March 1963), pp. 3-5.

[3] The excavations of the sanctuary of Surkh Dum were described by E. F. Schmidt in 'The Second Holmes Expedition to Luristan,' *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology* V (1938), pp. 205-216.

[4] For a brief account of the principal viewpoints concerning the dates of the Luristan bronzes, see my introduction in 'Nomads and Luristan Bronzes' (cited in VI/2). C. F. A. Schaeffer in *Stratigraphie*, pp. 477-495, assumes an even longer time span for the bronzes than I do; my principal disagreement with his theory, however, is that he places the entire output of bronzes before the Iron Age, that is, before 1200 B.C.

[5] The bulls flanking a tree appear on the crown and on the robe of King Marduknadinahhe (*c.* 1100 B.C.) on a boundary-stone dated on stylistic grounds in his reign; see L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones...* (British Museum, London, 1912), Pl. LIV and text, p. 37.

[6] An example of such a goblin can be seen in the votive pin in the booklet by Y. and A. Godard, *Bronzes du Luristan* (The Hague, n.d., approximately 1956), Pl. 8, cat. no. 150.

[7] For Assyrian cylinder seals showing a throne decorated with a line of fringe, see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXXIV: h, or *Corpus* I, nos. 673-676.

[8] A lion with a powerful arched neck can be seen on examples of Achaemenid cylinder seals of the late sixth or fifth centuries B.C., e.g., *Persepolis* II, Pl. 15, PT 6673, or *Corpus* I, nos. 824, 825.

[9] For comment on the wide distribution of Mitannian seals of Common Style, see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 280.

[10] For the documentation of these daggers, see the articles cited in note VI/2.

[11] R. Ghirshman, who ascribes the Luristan bronzes to the Cimmerians, is of the opinion that the inscribed objects from tombs in Luristan come from temples sacked by the Assyrian army, in which the Cimmerians formed a corps of mercenaries; see 'A propos des bronzes inscrits du Luristan,' *Iranica Antique* II/2 (1962), pp. 165-179, especially p. 175.

[12] In the meantime an article on these finds, entitled 'Une Fouille en Luristan,' has been published by Yolande Maliki in *Iranica Antiqua* IV/1 (1964), pp. 1-35. More than anything else the article illustrates the tragedy of Iranian archaeology, in which the principal evidence for theories concerning the date of this important material comes from uncontrolled excavations.

[13] In the collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, made available to students at Columbia University in New York, there is an example of an ibex standard in which a tube has become fused by corrosion with the ring on which they rest their 'elbows'. Furthermore, a standard with felines reproduced by A. Moortgat, *Bronzegerät aus Luristan* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, 1932), Taf. VI: 15 also shows a tube which seems to have been originally connected with the standard and not added later by dealers, as was often done with the more complicated elements of the composite standards.

[14] For Western Asiatic pins with a head in the shape of a pomegranate, see P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia* (Oxford, 1956), p. 39.

[15] See note V/40.

[16] The cylinder seal showing ibexes flanking a tree or bush, found at Surkh Dum, was published in *Dark Ages*, Pl. I, Fig. 1.

[17] The term 'wands' was used by E. F. Schmidt in his report on the Holmes expedition to Luristan (cited in note VI/3), p. 210.

[18] For Ghirshman's ideas concerning horse bits and cheek-pieces, see *Iranica Antiqua* II/2 (1962), p. 168.

[19] In the German and French editions of *Alt Iran*, I placed the relief in the time of Ashurbanipal but have now returned to labelling it Sennacherib.

[20] The term jewelled line was used by Ellen Kohler in connection with ivories from Gordion and North Syria. I sfress the derivation of the term because these jewelled bands or lines, whether found in Syria or Luristan, may have been a general fashion of the early first millennium B.C.

[21] See note VI/6 for reference to a goblin on another Luristan bronze.

[22] Women wearing pins with the points sticking up, rendered on Greek vases, were reproduced by Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, Figs. 333, 335.

[23] For comment on the refuge areas of Iran, see Frye, *Heritage of Persia*, pp. 7-9; for comment on the Zagros mountains, see especially p. 9.

VII

[1] Preliminary reports of these excavations were published by E. O. Negahban, *ILN* (April 28, 1962), pp. 663, 664, and a supplement of reproductions in colour; and *ILN* (May 5, 1962), pp. 669-671.

[2] Dyson pointed to the 'leaching' of skeletons in his comments on the MS of the present chapter.

[3] In a paper read before the Philadelphia Oriental Club, on March 7th, 1963, Dyson pointed out that winged arrow-heads were unknown at Hasanlu but that

there was an example at Sialk, Level V (Ghirshman, *Sialk* II, Pl. V:2, called an incomplete javelin head by Ghirshman, *ibid.* p. 9), and that similar arrow-heads were found in a grave near Kermanshah together with daggers dated about 1200-1000 B.C. Examples from the Talish are reported by Schaeffer in *Stratigraphie*, Figs. 217:10, 227:16. Related but not identical examples come from sites in the Caucasus; see Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie*, Figs. 282:7, 283:5. The last-mentioned object is bigger than the others and may belong to a larger throwing weapon than an arrow. An unusual winged spear-head found at Tell el-Hesi in Palestine and probably dated in the 24th century B.C. – see Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (London, New York, Toronto, 1963), p. 149 – raises interesting problems concerning the diffusion of this type of object.

[4] Bulls with similar body markings occur on fragments of ivory found below the terrace of the Assyrian king Tukulti Ninurta I (1242-1206 B.C.) and dated in or after his period; *WVDOG* 66 (1955), Pls. 25, 26. The composite tree of the Marlik beaker is only slightly more simplified than the palmette-tree on an alabaster vase of the Middle Assyrian period from Assur; see A. Haller, *Die Gräber und Grüfte von Assur* (*WVDOG* 65, 1954), Pl. 32a, b. It differs quite considerably, however, from the linearized tree between the bulls on the glazed brick panel of Shalmaneser III reproduced in a drawing in *Iraq* XXV (1963), Pl. IX. Similarly, the bulls of the brick panel seem to be more highly stylized than those of the Marlik beaker.

[5] King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones*, Pl. LIV (cited in note VI/5).

[6] See *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, I, Pl. 278 A.

[7] For a study of the shoulder star, see the article by Helene J. Kantor, 'The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions,' *JNES* VI (1947), pp. 250-274.

[8] H. Samadi gave an account of Kalardasht and the discovery of the gold bowl and associated objects in 'Les découvertes fortuites,' *Arts asiatiques* VI (1959), pp. 175-183; discoveries at other sites were discussed by him on pp. 183-194.

[9] For a discussion of the dagger of Kalardasht and related types, see K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, 'Bronzes from Iran in the Collection of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London,' *Iraq* XXIV (1962), pp. 126-133. Also Peter Calmeyer, 'Sechs südkaspische Bronzen im Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin, aus dem Umkreis der Amlasch-Kulturen,' *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 2 (1962), No. 2, pp. 218-219.

[10] Compare especially the quiver found at Surkh Dum published in *Archaeology* 5 (Summer 1952), p. 99, Fig. 4.

[11] *Syria* XXXV (1958), pp. 175-181, Pl. XV and Figs. 4, 5, especially p. 178 and note 4.

[12] This account is quoted from Dyson's article in *Expedition* 1 (Spring 1959), pp. 12-14. The description of the discovery of the bowl is partly based on his account in *Life Magazine* (Jan. 12, 1959), pp. 50-60; there the reader will find large colour reproductions, from the originals of which the plates in the present book have been made. I discussed the style and iconography of the Hasanlu bowl in *Expedition* 1 (Spring 1959), pp. 19-22. The drawings were first published in *Archaeology* 13 (Summer 1960), pp. 124, 125.

[13] Such star-shaped mace-heads were found at Sialk and Giyan according to Ghirshman, *Sialk* II, p. 96, but they were not reproduced by him. He refers to a similar mace-head from the excavations at Assur with an inscription of Shalmaneser III in which the Assyrian king mentions that the weapon had belonged to a prince of western Media. An inscribed mace-head of this type was published by G. Dossin in *Iranica Antiqua* II/2 (1962), Pl. XXVI, 16 and p. 160.

F. Hančar, 'Kaukasus = Luristan,' *Eurasia septentrionalis antiqua* IX (1934), p. 63, Fig. 17, seems to regard the weapon as of Western Asiatic origin but stated that it was not unknown in the Gandša Karabagh culture (*ibid.*, p. 61).

More examples of this type from known localities are needed before we can form a definite opinion as to where this mace-head type originated.

[14] For the association of the weather god with a bull in Mesopotamia, see D. O. Edzard, 'Mesopotamien: Die Mythologie der Sumerer und Akkader,' in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I: *Vorderer Orient*, p. 137. For bull and weather god in Asia Minor, see in the same *Wörterbuch* E. von Schuler, 'Kleinasien: Die Mythologie der Hethiter und Hurriter,' p. 209; and for Syria, see M. H. Pope and W. Röllig, 'Syrien: Die Mythologie der Ugariter und Phönizier,' p. 255.

[15] See, for example, the renderings on cylinder seals in *Corpus* I, Nos. 942-944.

[16] The summary of the epic and the quotation cited below are taken from the most recent version given by H. G. Güterbock in 'Hittite Mythology,' *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, ed. by S. N. Kramer (New York, 1961), pp. 164-172 ('The Song of Ullikummi'). For references to earlier versions of the translation by Güterbock and A. Goetze, see *ibid.*, p. 179, note 30.

[17] Fish swimming among bubbles are seen on the bottom of the gold bowl in the Louvre; see *Syria* XXXV (1958), p. 179, Fig. 5.

[18] For the relation of the goddess Anahita with an eagle or falcon, see R. Göbl, 'Investitur im sasanidischen Iran...,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* LVI (1960), pp. 36-51.

[19] I discussed the motif of two heroes threatening a bearded demon as represented in Mitannian art in *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research XXIV, 1947), p. 60, No. 728. For further discussion, see Helene J. Kantor, 'Oriental Institute Museum Notes, No. 13: A Bronze Plaque with Relief Decoration from Tell Tainat,' *JNES* XXI (1962),

pp. 114-116. The motif occurs also on the quiver from Surkh Dum in Luristan, cited in note VII/10.

[20] Perhaps the gesture should be compared to one of setting the point of the spear on the foot, as on the Mitannian seal impression of Tehiptilla; see *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (cited in note VII/19), No. 663. This may suggest a Hurrian origin for this distinctive gesture. For the design on the bottom of the Hasanlu bowl, see *Archaeology* 13 (Summer 1960), p. 124.

[21] The rendering of the hair of the female figures in the Hasanlu bowl may be compared to that of the female heads seen in frontal view on disk-shaped pins from Luristan, for example, one reproduced by Ghirshman in *Bîchâpour*, Pl. XXIV:1.

A figure wearing a garment with tassels perhaps imitating animal tails hanging from the hem is seen in A. Godard, *Les Bronzes du Luristan* (Ars Asiatica XVII, 1931), Pl. LVIII, 215.

The upswept curl of the priest in the Hasanlu bowl is worn by the two figures threatening the bearded personage on the quiver from Surkh Dum mentioned in note VII/10.

[22] For the vessels from Nuzi, see R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* (Harvard University Press, 1937), Pls. 103:L to 107:C. For their interpretation as pigs, not lions, see T. A. Carter in *Expedition* 7 (Autumn 1964), p. 38.

[23] These parallels were cited by Dyson in the paper mentioned in note VII/3. They are: Wulsin, 'Excavations at Tureng Tepe...' (cited in note IV/8), Pl. XV and Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar* (cited in note IV/12), Pl. XLVII: H 3289 for a female figure with the hands in the same position as those of the Marlik ladies. An alabaster idol with ear-lobes pierced for rings is reproduced in Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 192, Fig. 114.

[24] The finds of the Japanese expedition to the South Caspian region will be published as a report of the *Tokyo University Iraq-Iran Archaeological Expedition* by the Institute for Oriental Culture of the University of Tokyo. A brief summary of the finds made by the expedition was published by N. Egami and J. Ikeda in *Anthropological Studies of West Asia* I: *Human Remains from the Tombs in Dailamanistan, Northern Iran*, Report 5 (1963) of the series mentioned above, pp. 1-3.

The Bronze Age crania of 'Dailamanistan' are said in this report to resemble those from Hissar III and related crania, but to have been less hyperbrachycranic. One may await further investigations before using this information for far-reaching historical conclusions.

VIII

[1] In *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, pp. 72-76, Cuyler Young throws reasonable doubt on the origin of the 'grand massif' in period VI as postulated by Ghirshman, and makes it appear possible that the 'massif' was a Sasanian or Early Islamic construction. This would greatly modify Ghirshman's reconstruction of the first settlement of Indo-Europeans at Sialk (*Iran*, pp. 83 ff.).

[2] I have seen iron finger-rings in which the inspiration from the Marlik style of metal vessels was clearly recognizable but which showed considerable coarsening of that style. There may have been metal vessels, not yet known, which corresponded to the style of these finger-rings and could have in turn inspired the potters of Sialk.

[3] Perhaps the numerous small bronze figurines from the 'Dailaman region' published by E. L. B. Terrace, 'Some Recent Finds from Northwest Persia,' *Syria* XXXIX (1962), pp. 212-224, belong to a later phase of the South Caspian culture, contemporary with Sialk B, as suggested by Terrace *(ibid.*, pp. 214-215). He would, however, include the entire 'culture' in this late period, which is unacceptable on the evidence presented in Chapter VII.

IX

[1] Carbon-14 dates for Hasanlu are published in E. K. Ralph, 'University of Pennsylvania Radiocarbon Dates III,' *American Journal of Science, Radiocarbon Supplement* I (1959), pp. 49-51 and R. Stuckenrath, 'University of Pennsylvania Radiocarbon Dates VI,' *Radiocarbon 5* (1963), pp. 85-90. The published dates are given in the old half-life of 5568 ± 30 years, but have not been recalculated in the above statement for a half-life of 5730± 40 years, adopted by the Carbon-14 Conference of 1962 as the best present estimate. Only samples receiving equivalent laboratory processing have been used in the above presentation.

[2] Two beakers said to come from Luristan show forms somewhat similar to that of the silver beaker from Hasanlu and also have raised ridges which divide the surface of the beaker into several horizontal bands. One is illustrated by G. Goossens, *Bronzen uit Loeristan* (Koninklijke Musea... Brussels, 1956), Pl. 17 (formerly in the Graeffe Collection); the other is reproduced in *Survey* IV, Pl. 68 B (formerly in the Holmes Collection). Tall beakers of somewhat similar shape were found in Beshtasheni in Georgia, of which representative examples were illustrated by Schaeffer in *Stratigraphie*, Fig. 285.

[3] The characteristics of the Assyrian chariot from the time of Ashurnasirpal can be seen in the reliefs reproduced in R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Reliefs*, Pls. 24-27. See also the article by B. Hrouda, 'Der assyrische Streitwagen,' *Iraq* XXV (1963), Pl. XXIX: 3, 5, 6 and p. 156.

[4] An example of an enemy with his hand raised in supplication, as if to ward off the arrow which has already pierced his breast, is seen in the relief of Ashurnasirpal, Barnett, *Assyrian Reliefs*, Pl. 24; an enemy hanging over a chariot wheel is seen in *ibid.*, Pl. 25.

Both postures are combined in the rendering of the enemy on the chariot of the Hasanlu beaker.

[5] For the glazed knobs and tiles of Assyrian palaces, see Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics*, Pls. 31-36. For the human-headed bulls and lions at the entrances to the main halls of the palace of Ashurnasirpal II, see A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* (London, 1849), Pls. 3, 4. For the human-headed bulls at the entrance to the throne room of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), see Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 76-77, Fig. 31.

[6] W. Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ischtar = Tempel in Assur (WVDOG* 58, 1935), Pl. 37 b, text p. 93.

[7] A glazed terracotta head of a human-headed bull or bull-man from Susa was published in *MDP* XXIX (1943), p. 64, Fig. 53:3. It seemed to correspond in size to the head from Hasanlu.

[8] Godard, *Ziwiyè*, p. 104, Fig. 90.

[9] For a discussion of these situlae or cups, see R. S. Young, 'Bronzes from Gordion's Royal Tomb,' *Archaeology* 11 (Winter 1958), pp. 227-231.

[10] The blue material used for inlays on the ram rhyton, which is at present being analyzed, appears to be similar in quality to the 'Egyptian blue' objects from Persepolis analyzed by F. R. Matson and published in *Persepolis* II, pp. 133-135. The blue colour in most of these man-made materials is formed from various copper compounds and not from lapis lazuli as is often stated in the absence of analytical data.

[11] The Urartian psalia with horse heads from Altin Tepe are published by Tahsin Özgüç, 'Excavations at Altintepe,' *Belleten* XXV (1961), p. 287, Figs. 16, 17.

[12] The horse head from Karmir Blur was published by B. B. Piotrovskii in *Iskusstvo Urartu* (Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, 1962), Pls. XXVI-XXVII.

[13] A drawing of the impression of this cylinder seal was published in *Archaeology* 13 (Summer 1960), p. 128.

[14] For a discussion of the 'lion bowl from Hasanlu', see the article with that title by M. N. van Loon in *Expedition* 4 (Summer 1962), pp. 14-19.

X

[1] The first report on the general topography of the place of discovery was made by Godard in *Ziwiyè*, pp. 5-8. Corrections of Godard's statements were given by Cuyler Young in *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, pp. 50-52. The summarizing remarks here made are based on the observations of Cuyler Young, *op. cit.*; of R. H. Dyson in 'Archaeological Scrap: Glimpses of History at Ziwiye,' *Expedition* 5 (Spring 1963), pp. 32-37, and on my own impressions of the site.

[2] Dyson, *op. cit.* (in note X/1), p. 34.

[3] On the evaluation of the Assyrian attitude to war, see W. von Soden, 'Die Assyrer und der Krieg,' *Iraq* XXV (1963), pp. 131-144, especially p. 139.

[4] The movements of the Medes have been interestingly reconstructed by Cuyler Young in *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, see especially pp. 229-254, 'The Coming of the Iranians to Western Iran: A Historical Reconstruction'.

[5] K. Jettmar, 'Ausbreitungsweg und sozialer Hintergrund des eurasiatischen Tierstils,' *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* XCII (1962) (Festschrift Franz Hančar), p. 185.

[6] This is the tentative opinion of V. E. Crawford and R. H. Dyson, Jr., who excavated at Ziwiye in the summer of 1964.

[7] The two troughs from Ur described as of copper were discussed by R. D. Barnett in 'The Treasure of Ziwiye,' *Iraq* XVIII (1956), pp. 111-116. Barnett referred, *ibid.*, p. 114, note 4, to the object from Zincirli published by F. von Luschan and W. Andrae, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* V (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen, Heft XV, 1943), Pl. 57, text pp. 118-119.

[8] Tributaries with such models are seen on the strip reproduced by C. K. Wilkinson, 'More Details on Ziwiye,' *Iraq* XXII (1960), p. 214, Fig. 2. A photograph of a tributary carrying a model of a town from a relief of Sargon II is conveniently reproduced by Barnett in *Iraq* XII (1950), p. 5, Fig. 3, for the Urartian model of bronze, see *ibid.*, Pl. I. The large vessel which has the relative size of the gold vessel from Hasanlu is seen in Wilkinson's drawing, *op. cit.*, p. 216, Fig. 6, the fifth figure from the left.

[9] Sargon's robe, carefully re-drawn, is conveniently reproduced in A. L. Oppenheim's article, 'The Golden Garments of the Gods,' *JNES* VIII (1949), p. 184, Fig. 18. See also Botta-Flandin, *Nineveh* II, Pl. 101. The pattern of squares with an inscribed dot appears to have survived in Achaemenid times, as is shown by an ivory plaque from Susa, *MDP* XXX (1947), p. 88, Fig. 56:4.

[10] Von Luschan-Andrae, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* V (cited in note X/7), Pl. 68 b; 70 s; text, p. 132.

[11] A garment pattern showing a hero fighting a lion is seen in Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Pl. 8.

[12] For a tree resembling in the multiple interlaced tendrils that of the ivory plaque, see for example Botta-Flandin, *Monument de Nineve* II, Pl. 119. An example of a related design in a cylinder seal is in the Newell Collection; *OIP* XXII (1934), Pl. XXX:443.

[13] The ivories of local style were reproduced by Godard in *Ziwiyè*, pp. 105, 106, Figs. 91, 92. An ivory box from Hasanlu in a related style was published in *Archaeology* 16 (Summer 1963), p. 132. Even more closely related ivories from that site were published in *Archeology* 17 (Spring 1964), pp. 6, 10.

[14] Fragments of painted glazed earthenware vessels were picked up by us on the excursion described by Dyson in *Expedition* 5 (1963), pp. 32-37.

[15] The Assyrian painted and glazed earthenware vessels were discussed by W. Andrae in *Coloured Ceramics*, pp. 33-57.

The most elaborately decorated vessel of this type found in the tombs of Assur contained a few remains of the bones of a cremated corpse and was in a tomb dated in the end of the Assyrian Empire, see A. Haller, *Die Gräber und Grüfte von Assur (WVDOG* 65, 1954), pp. 98-99, s.v. Grab 667. Small vessels which have the same wreath of pointed petals on the shoulder were found in tomb 30, classified as Neo-Assyrian and possibly dated shortly after 805 B.C. *(ibid.*, pp. 109-110) and in tomb 58, which had Neo-Assyrian tablets and was likewise dated Neo-Assyrian *(ibid.*, p. 158).

[16] For delicate wreaths of petals on an Egyptian vessel, see the jar, probably from El 'Amarna,' about 1365 B.C., reproduced by N. E. Scott in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (November 1956), p. 83, No. 9.

[17] The pectoral was reconstructed by Godard from various fragments, see *Ziwiyè*, p. 20, Fig. 10. Such a pectoral is worn by a beardless Urartian human-headed bovine creature described by Barnett as a bull-woman; see *Iraq* XII (1950), Pl. VI. The ornament is placed somewhat lower there than in Assyrian reliefs; see the rendering of the royal armour-bearer in a relief of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in *The Great King... King of Assyria* (New York, 1945), Pl. I.

[18] The motif of bull-men with raised arms supporting a winged sun-disk is probably of North Syrian origin, but the closest prototype for the posture of the bull-man on the pectoral is found in Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals and stamps of the time of Sargon II and later. Examples are *Corpus* I, Nos. 771, 772, and 793.

[19] For comment on the ram-headed lion or ram-sphinx, see Barnett, *Nimrud Ivories* (cited in note V/54), p. 87.

[20] For the origin of the apron or kilt of the monsters see H. J. Kantor, 'Oriental Institute Museum Notes, No. 11: A Fragment of a Gold Appliqué from Ziwiye...,' *JNES* XIX (1960), p. 7 and note 8.

[21] The bird-headed tip of the griffin's tail was noted by Kantor, *op. cit.* in note X/20, p. 7.

[22] Quoted from Kantor, *op. cit.* in note X/20, p. 13.

[23] The gold epaulette was published by C. K. Wilkinson in 'Treasure from the Mannean Land,' *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (April 1963), p. 277, Fig. 5.

[24] The gold bowl from Marlik on which these features occur was published in the *Illustrated London News* (April 28, 1962), Supplement, Pl. II, Fig. B, but unfortunately the reproduction is not clear enough to distinguish details.

[25] In *Artibus Asiae* XIII (1950), pp. 191-192, R. Ghirshman referred to the lion and griffin protomes as finials for furniture but called them *tenon de chaudron* in *Sept Mille Ans d'art en Iran*, p. 88, Nos. 520-523.

[26] Most of the literature on the problem of the relations of Greek and Oriental griffins is mentioned by J. L. Benson in 'Unpublished Griffin Protomes in American Collections,' *Antike Kunst* 3/2 (1960), pp. 58-70. In 1961, however, a griffin attachment was discovered at Gordion and published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 66 (1962), pl. 43, Fig. 15, which disproved Benson's hypothesis that 'the griffin protome on cauldrons is a purely Greek affair...' *(op. cit.*, p. 63).

[27] The bracelet was published by C. K. Wilkinson in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (March 1955), p. 218 and was taken up again in the article cited in note X/23 on p. 281, Figs. 11-13. The companion-piece in Teheran was published by Godard, *Ziwiyè*, pp. 50-52, Figs. 40-42.

[28] A good view of one of the lions from Zincirli is reproduced in E. Akurgal, *Spaethethitische Bildkunst* (Ankara, 1949), Pl. XXVIIa. The relationship between Urartian and Late Hittite lions was noted by R. D. Barnett in 'The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van,' *Iraq* XII (1950), p. 37.

[29] The lion head from Karmir Blur was published by Piotrovskii in *Vanskoe Tsarstvo*, p. 178, Fig. 41.

[30] E. H. Minns suggested that 'The first vehicle of the style was horn, bone or hard wood'; see *The Art of the Northern Nomads* (Annual Lecture on Aspects of Art, British Academy, 1942), p. 4.

[31] Quoted from R. D. Barnett, 'Median Art,' *Iranica Antiqua* II (1962), p. 91.

XI

[1] In *Proto-Historic Western Iran* Cuyler Young has examined the ceramic evidence concerning the Medes, but weapons, tools and burial patterns, and perhaps architecture, remain to be sought out and studied in an equally methodical way.

[2] These remarks about the location of Medes and Persians are summarized from Cuyler Young's relevant sections in *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, where he gives an interpretation of Assyrian topographical indications based on his thorough knowledge of the geography of western Iran.

[3] This last point is made by Cuyler Young, *Proto-Historic Western Iran*, pp. 203-204, whereas other historians of Iran have assumed a migration of the Persians (see most recently D. Stronach, *Iran* I [1963], p. 22).

[4] The treaties of Esharhaddon, in which the names of Median, Persian and other Iranian vassals are mentioned, were published by D. J. Wiseman in *Iraq* XX (1958), pp. 1-99.

[5] This is the assumption of Cuyler Young, supported by Jettmar's suggestion that the twenty-eight years of Scythian terror merely referred to a period of activity as a warrior, an age group rather than a historical period; see the references given above in note X/5.

[6] See Barnett, 'Median Art,' *Iranica Antiqua* III (1962), pp. 77-95.

[7] The façade of Qyzqapan is reproduced in a drawing in *Iraq* I (1934), p. 186, Fig. 2.

[8] See J. Boardman, 'Chian and Early Ionic Architecture,' *The Antiquaries Journal* XXXIX (1959), p. 215 and note 2.

[9] Examples of representation of columns with volute capitals in ancient Western Asiatic art were cited by Boardman, *op. cit.* in note XI/8, p. 214, and note 4.

[10] The ornaments of the shafts of arrows from the third kurgan at Pazyryk are reproduced in S.I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura naselenia gornogo Altaia v Skifskoe vremia* (Akademia Nauk SSSR, Moscow, 1953), Pls. CXIX, CXX. K. Jettmar first drew attention to the relation between designs of the painted columns of Persepolis and the shafts of arrows from Pazyryk in 'Die Fürstengräber der Skythen im Altai,' *Die Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik*, 61. Jahrgang, Heft 12 (1961), pp. 368-371.

[11] For these 'Median' scabbards, see Barnett, 'Median Art,' *Iranica Antiqua* III, (1962), Pls. III, V.

[12] The chapes were discussed by B. Goldman, 'Achaemenian Chapes,' *Ars Orientalis* II (1957), pp. 43-54; see also E. Porada in *Artibus Asiae* XVIII (1955), p. 218. Herzfeld, in *Iran*, pp. 265-267, not only discussed the chapes but also the patterns running along the edges of the scabbards.

[13] G. Borovka, *Scythian Art* (reprinted in 1960 by Paragon, New York, after the edition of 1928), pp. 40-43, gave what is still the best characterization of the Scythian stylization of birds of prey.

[14] H. J. Kantor, 'Goldwork and Ornaments from Iran,' *Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin* V/2 (1957), pp. 16-19, Figs. 10, 11.

XII

[1] For the history of the period Olmstead's *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948) still provides the most extensive documentation from cuneiform sources. H. Bengston, *Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die römische Kaiserzeit* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Dritte Abteilung, vierter Teil. Munich, 2nd ed., 1960), has been used for the relation between Persians and Greeks.

[2] Anshan may be assumed to have been located in the Bakhtiari mountains of western Persia; see Hinz, *Persia*, p. 6.

[3] This interpretation of the significance of Persepolis was summarized by Erdmann in 'Persepolis: Daten und Deutungen,' *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 92 (1960), p. 47.

[4] See Godard, 'Les Travaux de Persepolis,' *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1952), especially pp. 122-126, and Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, pp. 123-125.

[5] For the first preliminary report on the excavations at Pasargadae, see D. Stronach, *Iran* I (1963), pp. 19-42. On p. 27 Stronach describes the Citadel Area and mentions *(ibid.*, note 20) Schmidt's speculations about the purpose of the fortifications in *Persepolis* I, p. 21.

[6] A sketch plan of Pasargadae, Stronach, *op. cit.* in note XII/5, p. 25, Fig. 2, gives a good idea of the layout of these buildings in relation to the other structures of Persepolis. Herzfeld described the remains of these buildings in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* I (1928), pp. 4-16.

[7] Boardman, 'Chian and Early Ionic Architecture,' *The Antiquaries Journal* XXXIX (1959), p. 217, points to the difference between colour contrasts in individual structural members and in alternating slabs in a frieze or in courses of a wall. For the colour contrast in individual structural members, he cites examples from Old Smyrna, 'and more than once on Chian buildings'; for the simple alternation of slabs, he gives North Syrian and Urartian examples *(ibid.*, note 4). He does not believe that the latter influenced the architecture of Pasargadae. Urartian architecture, however, also seems to have sought a colour contrast in structural elements, as is shown by the parapet of dark stone on walls of different colour seen at Karmir Blur; *cf.* K. L. Oganesian, *Karmir Blur* IV (Akademia Nauk Armianskoi SSR, 1955), reconstruction on p. 103, Fig. 61. Admittedly the entire parapet is constructed there in a different colour, not only parts of it.

[8] The derivation of the uppermost part of the Achaemenid capital from predecessors in wood was demonstrated by Herzfeld, *Iran*, pp. 210-211. On Pl. XXXIX (above, right) of the same book he reproduced part of a horse protome from Pasargadae. The griffin protome was published by Godard in *ILN* (Jan. 2, 1954), p. 18, Figs. 5-8. A protome with lion dragons was also discarded, this one because it had a flaw in the stone, due to which the capital was not only ungainly but also unsafe, though the workmen tried in vain to improve on this condition by applying iron clamps, the traces of which can still be seen in the stone *(ibid.*, p. 19, Figs. 9, 11). See also Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, Fig. 61. These protomes are also reproduced in Ali Sami, *Persepolis* (3rd ed., Shiraz, 1958), unnumbered plates following p. F.

[8a] For a detailed description of the newly discovered tomb and for the suggestion that it was built somewhat earlier than the tomb of Cyrus, see D. Stronach in *Iran* II (1964), pp. 28-30.

[9] The tower of Naqsh-i Rustem is reproduced and extensively discussed by K. Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum* (11. Sendschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig, 1941), pp. 17-21 and Pl. III.

[10] The gate tower of Karmir Blur was reproduced in Oganesian, *Karmir Blur* IV, pp. 96, 97, Figs. 58, 59. Barnett was the first to draw attention to the relation of the tower of Naqsh-i Rustem to the gate tower of Karmir Blur; see 'Persepolis,' *Iraq* XIX (1957), p. 74.

[11] For a listing of the different theories, see Erdmann, *Das Iranische Feuerheiligtum*, pp. 18, 19. For the suggestion made by W. B. Henning that the tower held the

archives of the empire, see Duchesne-Guillemin, *Religion*, p. 161. R. Ghirshman succeeded in eliminating some of the enigma of the tower of Naqsh-i Rustem by explaining the grooves in the door-sill of the tower as having been made in connection with the installation of the heavy wings of the door; see 'La Tour de Nourabad: étude sur les temples iraniens anciens,' *Syria* XXIV (1944-45), p. 179.

[12] The rendering of a structure which looks like a tower-shaped altar can be seen in a relief of Ashurbanipal; see Barnett, *Assyrian Reliefs*, Pl. 134.

[13] Terraces of the early Achaemenid period were discussed by Ghirshman in 'Masjid-i-Solaiman: résidence des premiers Achéménides,' *Syria* XXVII (1950), pp. 205-220, and also by Erdmann, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XIII (1956), pp. 58, 59.

[14] R. Ghirshman, 'Notes iraniennes: VII, A propos de Persépolis,' *Artibus Asiae* XX/4 (1957), pp. 265-278. The present description, however, also relies on the occasionally varying reconstruction by Erdmann, 'Persepolis: Daten und Deutungen,' cited in note XIII 3 above.

[15] This and the following descriptions of architectural features and of the reliefs are taken, often verbally, from E. F. Schmidt in *Persepolis* I, although quotation marks are occasionally omitted for easier reading. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers of the rooms in the plan, Fig. 78, reproduced from Ghirshman's article cited in note XII 14.

[16] Quoted from *Persepolis* I, p. 82.

[17] For the description of the Indians, Lydians, and Sogdians, see Barnett, 'Persepolis,' *Iraq* XIX (1957), pp. 68-70.

[18] For the Arabian delegation with its dromedary, see *Persepolis* I, Pl. 46; for the Ethiopian delegation, see *Persepolis* I, Pl. 49.

[19] Quoted from *Persepolis* I, p. 107. Schmidt called the building *Council Hall*; Erdmann refers to it as 'Zentralgebäude' (see the article cited in note XII/3); I retain Herzfeld's term, *Tripylon*.

[20] Here we begin to substitute Erdmann's reconstruction for Ghirshman's.

[21] The description of the colours of the Ahura Mazda symbol was given by Herzfeld in *Iran*, p. 255, where he referred to his water-colour sketch reproduced, *ibid.*, in Pl. LXIV, above. Herzfeld also stated: 'The excavations of the covered parts of the sculptures of the Tripylon also revealed their original colours unchanged: purple red and turquoise blue, with application of metal, possibly gold.' Today no trace of the colours remains.

[22] Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, pp. 123, 124.

[23] For the questionable authenticity of the plans and reconstructions of the palace complex at Susa, see the remarks by Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, p. 218 and note 54.

[24] Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, pp. 26-27, suggested that the plan of the palace of Darius at Persepolis may have been influenced by the plan of the temple of Amon at Hibis in Egypt, erected earlier by the king.

[25] The lines cited here from the building inscription from Susa were taken from the translation by R. G. Kent in *American Oriental Series* 33 (1950), p. 144.

[26] H. Frankfort first drew attention to the basic differences between Assyrian and Achaemenid style in relief sculpture and to the Greek influences in the latter style; see 'Achaemenian Sculpture,' *American Journal of Archaeology* L (1947), pp. 6-14. For a more precise definition of the Greek contribution to Achaemenid art, see G. M. A. Richter, 'Greeks in Persia,' *AJA* L (1946), pp. 15-30. Evelyn B. Harrison pointed out to me the use of the characteristically Greek claw-chisel, the marks of which are visible all over the reliefs of Persepolis but are never found in earlier Western Asiatic reliefs. This point was recently elaborated by C. Nylander, 'Old Persian and Greek Stone-cutting and the Chronology of Achaemenian Monuments,' *AJA* LXIX (1965), pp. 49-55.

[27] For a four-winged genius in an Assyrian relief, see, for example, Parrot, *Assyria*, p. 70, Fig. 77, from the time of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.). For the special form of the Egyptian *atef* crown, A. R. Schulman drew my attention to the remarks by J. Yoyotte in G. Posener et al. ,*Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne* (Paris, 1959), p. 70. He stated there that the *hemhemet* crown, the materialization of the war cry, has three *atef* crowns resting on one pair of ram's horns; in addition there are also two uraei. This description exactly fits the crown worn by the genius of Pasargadae.

[28] The relief of King Hanni at Malamir shows a somewhat similar garment but with longer fringes; see Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie*, Pl. 90b. Even closer is the garment of an Elamite prince in the Assyrian relief of Ashurbanipal published in Barnett, *Assyrian Reliefs*, Pl. 121. Survival of the Elamite hair style related to that seen in these Assyrian reliefs can also be noted in seal impressions of the Achaemenid period from Ur; see L. Legrain, *Seal Cylinders* (Ur Excavations X, 1951), Pl. 39:704.

[29] The propitious meaning of the battlements on the crown was suggested by Gabrini, 'The Stepped Pinnacle...,' *East and West* 9/1-2 (March-June 1958), pp. 85-91; also by E. Porada in 'Some Thoughts on Battlements in Western Asiatic Architecture and Iconography,' a paper read at the *XIIe Rencontre assyriologique* (London, July 2, 1963).

[30] For comments on the iconography of the time of Darius, see E. Porada, review of *Persepolis* II in *JNES* XX (1961), pp. 66-71, especially p. 68, where ideas of J. Duchesne-Guillemin on this subject are incorporated.

[31] For the possible meaning of the victorious lion in Late Assyrian art, see E. Porada, 'An Assyrian Bronze Disc,' *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts* XLVIII, No. 271 (1950), pp. 1-8, especially pp. 7-8.

[32] A photograph of this quiver, of which we show a drawing of the lower end, Fig. 59, is reproduced in *Archaeology* 5 (Summer 1952), p. 99, Fig. 4.

[33] The object with a lion's head was reproduced by Herzfeld, *Iran*, p. 264, Fig. 366, and was explained on p. 263 as the foot of a throne. The identification of the material given by Herzfeld, *green stone*, is not entirely correct, for in this writer's experience the colour changed according to the light from green to black. Since this is also the case with other objects of dark limestone from Persepolis, I assume that the piece was made of that material, so common at the site.

Drinking vessels in the form of lions' heads represented in Assyrian reliefs and the example found at Gordion were reproduced by R. S. Young, 'Bronzes from Gordion's Royal Tomb,' *Archaeology* 11 (Winter 1958), pp. 227-231.

[34] Quoted from the article by Wilkinson, 'Assyrian and Persian Art,' *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (March 1955), p. 221.

[35] For the quotation from the text of Sennacherib, see D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (*OIP* II, Chicago, 1924), p. 45, col. V, line 85 (Sennacherib describes Elamite nobles who wear the golden girdle-dagger); p. 46, col. VI, line 14-16 (Sennacherib tells of taking away from the corpses the girdle-daggers of gold and silver which they carried on their persons).

[36] Cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* (the article cited in note XII/34), p. 220.

[37] A good photograph of the Berlin ibex is easily available in Von der Osten, *Welt der Perser*, Pl. 70.

[38] This ibex was first published by P. Amandry, 'Toreutique achéménide,' *Antike Kunst* 2/2 (1959), p. 52, Pls. 26,1; 27,1: 28,6.

[39] The earlier indication of the discovery at a site on the Black Sea appears to have been a blind for the actual provenance in eastern Anatolia about which I was informed by a reliable person.

[40] Drawings of Assyrian, Achaemenid and Greek lotus and palmette patterns which facilitate comparisons were included by E. L. B. Terrace in 'Two Achaemenian Objects in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,' *Antike Kunst*, 6/2 (1963), p. 75.

[41] Bulls with curly manes are seen on the shield of the Urartian king Sardur II (764-735 B.C.); see Piotrovskii, *Vanskoe Tsarstvo*, Pl. XXXIX, below.

[42] See note XII/37.

[43] For the date of the seal impressions from Ur, cited in note XII/28, see the writer's article 'Greek Coin Impressions from Ur,' *Iraq* XXII (1960), p. 233.

[44] An Achaemenid seal impression with Bes mask and palmette head-piece seems to be shown in Legrain, *Seal Cylinders of Ur*, Pl. 39:728. A bull on a rosette appears in textile patterns on the robes of figures in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.). See, for example, Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Pl. 48:9. Moufflons on rosettes are seen on the tub or coffin of Ziwiye and contemporary sarcophagi from Ur; see Barnett, 'The Treasure of Ziwiye,' *Iraq* XVIII (1956), Pls. XV-XVII.

[45] For the description of the treasure and reconstruction of the circumstances of its recovery, cf. Dalton, *Oxus Treasure*, pp. XIII ff.

[46] For the description of the bracelet, see Dalton, *Oxus Treasure*, no. 116, pp. 32-34.

[47] Felt appliqués which show animals whose muscles are stylized as in the bracelets were found at Pazyryk. See Rudenko, *Kul'tura naselenia gornogo Altaia*,...Pls. CIX-CXI. An example of a monster with horns, the ends of which are thickened, can be seen in a gold ornament from Siberia; see G. Borovka, *Scythian Art* (New York, 1928), Pl. 36 B.

[48] For the source of these quotations, see H. J. Kantor, 'Oriental Institute Museum Notes, No. 8: Achaemenid Jewelry in the Oriental Institute,' *JNES* XVI (1957), pp. 11-12 and 13.

[49] For the coin portraits, see W. Schwabacher, 'Satrapenbildnisse...,' *Charites* (Bonn, 1957), pp. 27-32 (I owe this reference to E. B. Harrison).

[50] The clay tablets of the Treasury at Persepolis were sealed with cylinder seals by the royal officials. The imprints were published by Schmidt in *Persepolis* II, Pls. 3-11. On the clay sealings there were also found impressions of stamp seals and seal-rings, *ibid.*, Pls. 12-14, probably deriving from the seals of private persons.

[51] For comments on Urartian stamp cylinders, see *Iraq* XIV (1952), p. 145, where other references will be found.

[52] Perhaps *Corpus* I, No. 832, which has a 'stamp cylinder' shape and also shows a Median huntsman engraved in a very distinctive style with use of curving lines, should be considered a Median seal. Barnett thought that he had recognized a Median cylinder, *Iraq* XIX (1957) Pl. XXIII:3, in which a king with a battlemented crown holds two sphinxes. Since I believe that Darius was the first to use a crown, I doubt that the cylinder is really of the pre-Achaemenid, Median period.

[53] Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 222, ascribes to Greek influence the new treatment of the surface in cylinder seals which shows the figures as if surrounded by space.

XIII

[1] For a summarizing chapter on the policies of Alexander and on the history of the Seleucid period, see Frye, *Heritage of Persia*, pp. 124 ff.

[2] For a summary of the problem of Bactria as a focus for Hellenistic influences in the surrounding regions, see Frye, *Heritage of Persia*, p. 169.

[3] For a reconstruction of the historical situation at the end of Greek rule in Bactria, see Frye, *Heritage of Persia*, pp. 164-167.

[4] See O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (Brown University Press, 2nd ed., 1957) pp. 98 ff.

[5] For photographs of these columns, see Herzfeld, *Iran*, Pls. LXXXVIII and LIX above; for photographs of the columns and masonry of Kangawar, also considered by him to have been Seleucid, see Pl. LXXXVII. A view of the ruins in 1843-1854, in a drawing by Flandin-Coste, is conveniently reproduced by Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), p. 24, Fig. 30.

[6] See Herzfeld, *Iran*, p. 275.

[7] Examples are reproduced by Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), p. 19, Fig. 23.

[8] This abbreviated survey of subjects is based on the seal impressions from Seleucia on the Tigris published by R. H. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, XXXVI, 1935).

[9] M.Rostovzeff, 'Seleucid Babylonian Bullae and Seals of Clay with Greek Inscriptions,' *Yale Classical Studies* III (1932), p. 21.

[10] Quoted from Neugebauer, *op cit.* in note XIII/4, p. 168, from which is derived the information concerning Babylonian and Hellenistic astrology here summarized.

XIV

[1] For conflicting views concerning the events at the beginning of the Parthian Dynasty, see E. J. Bickermann, 'Notes on Seleucid and Parthian Chronology,' *Berytus* VIII/II (1944), pp. 73-83; J. Wolski, 'The Decay of the Iranian Empire of the Seleucids and the Chronology of the Parthian Beginnings,' *Berytus* XII (1956-7), pp. 35-52; by the same author, 'L'historicité d'Arsace Ier,' *Historia* VIII (1959), pp. 222-238.

[2] M. I. Rostovzeff took issue with these views of modern historians in 'Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art,' *Yale Classical Studies* V (1935); see especially pp. 159-164. This general viewpoint, however, is implied by N. C. Debevoise in *A Political History of Parthia*, from which is derived much of the historical information here given.

[3] Adams in *Early South-western Iran*, p. 116, stated that the remains of Parthian towns located during the archaeological reconnaissance suggested a substantial increase in the extent and density of settlement, although their full area is often masked by the massive Sasanian ruins which overlie them.

[4] The association of Shiz with the Holy Grail was made by L. I. Ringbom, *Graltempel und Paradies* (Stockholm, 1951), p. 416 and pp. 510 ff.

Excavations of the site, now called Takht-i Suleiman, have been summarized by R. Naumann *et al.*, 'Takht-i-Suleiman und Zendan-i-Suleiman,... die Ausgrabungen im Jahre 1960,' *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1961, col. 28-68; 'Takht-i-Suleiman und Zendan-i-Suleiman, Grabungsbericht 1961,' *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1962, col. 633-693.

[5] This was the view of Ghirshman, who compared the condition of the Parthian empire with those of medieval Europe in *Iran*, p. 273.

The houses in Seistan are described by Fairservis, *Archaeological Studies...* (*op. cit.* in note I/5), p. 28.

[6] The suggestion to associate these huts with the origin of the *iwan* was made by Von der Osten, *Welt der Perser*, p. 120. H. J. Lenzen, from whose article 'Architektur der Partherzeit...,' *Festschrift für Carl Weickert* (Berlin, 1955), pp. 121-136, much of the architectural information in this chapter is derived, thought that the originators of the *iwan*, whom he supposes to have once been nomads, used to living in tents, had devised it to retain even in their permanent dwellings the openness and airiness of their former abodes *(ibid.*, p. 124).

[7] R. Ghirshman drew attention in *Persian Art* (1962), p. 29, to the structure at Nisa, the 'Square House' with four *iwans*. Unfortunately, he did not give a reference to the plan of the 'Square House' which he had in mind and which, according to him, contained the famous ivory rhytons of Nisa. For this reason I have been unable to identify the *iwans* in the plan of the court building described by M.-E. Masson as having contained the rhytons. See *Trudy Iuzhno-Turkemenistanskoi Arkheologicheskoi Kompleksnoi Expeditsii* IV, p. 19, Fig. 3.

[8] This is the wording of E. T. Newell, *Survey* I, p. 475, whose article on 'The Coinage of the Parthians,' *Survey* I, pp. 475-492, has been used extensively for this section.

[9] Ghirshman reproduced a strange coin ascribed to Artabanus II and dated 88-77 B.C. in *Persian Art* (1962), p. 114, No. 138, which shows that ruler in frontal view. Before accepting the evidence of that coin, however, one would want to see it more extensively discussed.

[10] Deborah Thompson gives a summary of the problem of frontality in Parthian art in her review of Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), published in the *Art Bulletin* XLVI (1964), pp. 95-97.

[11] For a thorough discussion of these paintings, see Rostovzeff's article mentioned in note XIV/2.

[12] For reproductions of the reliefs of Mithradates II and Gotarzes, see Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), p. 52, Figs. 64, 65; Von der Osten, *Welt der Perser*, Pl. 79, above, and Herzfeld, *Iran*, Pl. CVII, middle and below.

[13] The comparable statues in frontal pose from India, Afghanistan, Hatra and Palmyra are conveniently reproduced by Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), p. 269, Figs. 349, 350; p. 279, Fig. 361; p. 89, Fig. 100; p. 94, Fig. 105; p. 71, Fig. 84. Some are also reproduced by D. Schlumberger, 'Descendants non-méditerranéens de l'art grec,' *Syria* XXXVII (1960), Pl. VII, opposite p. 160. An arresting photograph of the head of the figure from Shami is given in the book by Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, Pl. 95. On p. 180 of that book he makes the suggestion that the building in which this statue and fragments of five others were found was a mausoleum.

H. Seyrig's remarks about the date of the statue from Shami are found in *Syria* XX (1939), p. 179.

[14] The head of that ruler is that of King Uthal, now joined to the body and exhibited in the Museum in Mosul. See S. Fukai, 'The Artifacts of Hatra and Parthian Art,' *East and West* 11/2-3 (June-Sept. 1960), p. 142, for the statement that the head and body of this marble statue were discovered separately. See also D. Homès-Fredericq, *Hatra et ses sculptures parthes...* (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Arch. Instituut, Istanbul, XV, 1963), p. 53, no. 17: roi Uthal.

[15] Among the forthcoming volumes in *Art of the World* is D. Schlumberger's work on Hellenism in Asia, which may be presumed to include these plaques.

[16] This opinion concerning Parthian glyptic art is mainly based on the drawings of seal impressions from Old Nisa published by G. A. Pugachenkova in *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* (1953), pp. 159-169. A selection of drawings was given by Ghirshman in *Persian Art* (1962), p. 30, Fig. 39.

XV

[1] The nature of Anahita and her cult as well as the relations of the early members of the Sasanian family to the goddess and her sanctuary were extensively discussed by M. Chaumont, 'Le Culte d'Anāhitā à Staxr et les premiers Sassanides,' *Revue de l'histoire des religions* CLIII (1958), pp. 154-175.

[2] This unprecedented agricultural and industrial growth in Sasanian times has been proved at least for the province of Khuzistan by Adams, 'Early South-western Iran,' especially pp. 116-120.

[3] R. Göbl drew attention to these Byzantine payments to the Sasanians in *Die Münzen der Sasaniden im königlichen Münzkabinett Haag* (Koninklijk Penningkabinet, 's-Gravenhage, 1962), p. 5.

[4] A useful summary and bibliography of these Russian excavations in Central Asia is given by G. Frumkin in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XIX (1962), pp. 122-125.

[5] Aerial photographs were taken by E. F. Schmidt and his collaborators and published in *Flights over Ancient Iran*, Pl. 18.

[6] The most extensive recent description of the site of the ancient town was given by Sir Aurel Stein in 'An Archaeological Tour in the Ancient Persis,' *Iraq* III (1936), pp. 117-119.

[7] The measurements given for these buildings are taken from Reuther, *Survey* I, pp. 534 ff. *passim*.

[8] Erdmann, however, draws attention to the rather extensive survival of such cavetto cornices after the Achaemenid period, though he does not deny the likelihood of a conscious architectural reminiscence by the builder of Firuzabad. K. Erdmann, 'Lückenforschung im iranischen Kunstkreis,' *Kunst des Orients* I (1950), p. 35.

[9] The measurements for the arched hall are taken from H. Lacoste, 'L'arc de Ctesiphon ou Taq Kesra (Mésopotamie),' *Sumer* X (1954), p. 13.

[10] The German excavations in Ctesiphon were published by O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition im Winter 1928/29* (Wittenberg, 1930) and by E. Kühnel and F. Wachsmuth, *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition (Winter 1931/-32): vorläufiger Bericht* (Berlin, 1933). Both publications were edited by the Islamische Kunstabteilung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin; the second report was jointly headed by the Staatliche Museen in Berlin and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[11] For a plan, photographs and a description of the principal features of the temple of Bishapur, see Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), pp. 148-150 and Figs. 189-192.

[12] Vanden Berghe's report on his investigations of Sasanian fire sanctuaries was published in 'Récentes Découvertes de monuments sassanides dans le Fārs (Prospections hiver 1959-60 et hiver 1960-61),' *Iranica Antiqua* I (1961), pp. 163-198; *cf.* especially pp. 175-181, where Vanden Berghe describes the fire temple of Kunār Siāh and the closely similar structure of Tang-i Chak Chak. In the interpretation of the structures discovered by him, Vanden Berghe follows K. Erdmann in *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, passim, especially pp. 50 ff. and 53 ff.; and A. Godard, 'Les Monuments du feu,' *Athār-é Irān* III (1938), pp. 7-80.

The largest fire sanctuary of Sasanian times, Shiz, now Takht-i Suleiman, is not yet fully excavated. Nevertheless, the German excavator, R. Naumann, made some important preliminary suggestions concerning this complex: it was a combination of fire temple and palace. The palace surrounded the fire temple in a large rectangular plan, and in the centre of a gigantic square court was the lake. Surrounding the court were halls with large *iwans* on the sides, while the fire temple lay in the main axis of the complex. There are features which according to Naumann relate the complex to that of Kuh-i Khwadja. See R. Naumann in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1961, cols. 29-54, especially col. 50.

[13] The role of the Christian Church of the Sasanian empire as a mediator between East and West was discussed by K. Erdmann in *Kunst*, pp. 43-44. Moreover, the same author cited examples of relations between products of early medieval and Sasanian art in 'Die universalgeschichtliche Stellung der sasanidischen Kunst,' *Saeculum* I (1950), especially pp. 512-517. Examples of such relations are also given by Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), 'The Diffusion of Sassanian Art,' pp. 283 ff.

[14] For a discussion of the coins showing the investiture of the king by the goddess Anahita, see R. Göbl's article, 'Investitur im sasanidischen Iran...' cited in the Bibliography under 'Coins'.

[15] Some coins of Ardashir already show considerable sculptural quality in renderings of the king's portrait.

These may have been produced by die-makers who came from the West. R. Göbl drew my attention to these coins and made several helpful suggestions for this survey of Sasanian coins, for which I also want to acknowledge the active help of George C. Miles.

[16] Erdmann discussed in 'Die Entwicklung der sāsānidischen Krone,' *Ars Islamica* XV-XVI (1951) pp. 89-90, note 10, the Sasanian literary and pictorial tradition available to the early Arab historians concerning the crowns of the kings and their colours.

[17] Tabari's text is quoted from the translation by M. H. Zotenberg, *Chronique... de Tabari...* II (Paris 1869), pp. 205-206.

[18] Erdmann cited the German translation of this description on p. 117 (left column) of his article, mentioned in note XV/16.

[19] For a translation of the description in the royal legend of Ardashir of the ram which was seen on Ardashir's horse and which represented the auspicious radiance, the *xvarnah*, see G. Widengren, *Iranische Geisteswelt* (Baden-Baden, 1961), p. 302.

[20] The relief in Azerbaijan was reproduced by Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie*, Pl. 150a and by Herzfeld, *Iran*, Pl. CVII, top. Another relief (in the village of Hung Naurūzi), was listed by Vanden Berghe as probably showing a Sasanian king (*Archéologie*, pp. 62-63), but was subsequently published by him as a Parthian relief, 'Le Relief parthe de Hung-Inaūruzī,' *Iranica Antiqua* III/2 (1963), pp. 155-168.

[21] The explanation of the choice of Naqsh-i Rustem for the location of Ardashir's relief is given by Erdmann, *Kunst*, p. 50.

[22] See the article by B.C. MacDermot, 'Roman Emperors in Sassanian Reliefs,' *The Journal of Roman Studies* XLIV (1954), pp. 76-80.

[23] Excellent reproductions of these reliefs are given in Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), pp. 125-130.

[24] The relief of Bahram II which shows the king fighting lions was carved in a rock near the village of Sar Mashad, in the vicinity of Kazarun. Herzfeld reproduced details of the relief in *Iran*, Pl. CXXIII.

Vanden Berghe reproduced a photograph in *Archéologie*, Pl. 74a and in *Iranica Antiqua* III/1 (1963), Pl. XXIV, one of the Elamite relief near Malamir with a family group. A drawing of the relief was published in *MDP* III (1901), Pl. 32a.

[25] The excerpts from Ammianus are here quoted from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Loeb Class. Library, XXIV.6.8 and XXIV.1.12.

A discussion of the type of helmet worn by the Sasanians can be found in S.V. Grancsay, 'A Sasanian Chieftain's Helmet,' *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (April 1963), pp. 253-262.

[26] I owe this information to W. B. Trousdale, at present associated with the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[27] On the basis of the beautiful reproduction of the boar hunt of Taq-i Bustan in R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), pp. 194-196, Miss E. J. Holmes suggested the interpretation of the three boars as actually rendering only one animal in continuous narration, a device occasionally used in ancient Near Eastern art, for example, in the altar of Tukulti-Ninurta I from Assur, most conveniently reproduced in Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, Pl. 73 (B).

[28] See the reproduction of the composite stucco panel from Chahar Tarkhan near Teheran, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, in Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), p. 187. An example of a plaque with a single boar found near Ctesiphon was shown by Erdmann, *Kunst*, Fig. 41.

[29] For the bibliography of the controversy over the date of the Taq-i Bustan, see Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie*, pp. 188-189, Nos. 247-250.

[30] See Ghirshman's chapter on 'The Diffusion of Sassanian Art' in *Persian Art* (1962), pp. 283 ff.

[31] See, for the observations which led to these statements, Kühnel's remarks in *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition* (Winter 1931/32), p. 16 ff.

[32] In *Bîchâpour*, p. 174, Ghirshman assigned the battlements of Bishapur to the Early Islamic period (the late seventh rather than the first half of the eighth century, p. 173), although he stressed the Sasanian character of the wing palmette.

[33] The stucco sculpture of a saint was published in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 67 (April 1929), Fig. 13, p. 25.

[34] A similar transformation of a horizontal into a circular movement was noted by Erdmann in a bowl found at Poltava and assigned to Shapur II (310-379); see *Kunst*, pp. 93-94.

[35] I owe the information contained in this description to the Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The description of the technical process agrees substantially with that given by Erdmann, 'Die sasanidischen Jagdschalen' on p. 199 (continuation of note 3 from the foregoing page), *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 59 (1936), pp. 193-232.

[36] The classification and dating of the 'hunting bowls', which Erdmann presented in extenso in the article cited in note XV/35, were summarized by him in 'Zur Chronologie der sasanidischen Jagdschalen', *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 97 (1943), especially pp. 242-243.

[37] The correctness of the dating of the bowl in the time of Bahram I (273-276) or II (276-293) was questioned by R. Göbl in an oral communication to the present author.

[38] The origin of the bowl in a workshop other than those of the Sasanian court was suggested by Erdmann on p. 265 of the article cited in note XV/36.

[39] The different attributions of the bowl in the Hermi-

tage are cited by O. Maenchen-Helfen, 'Crenelated Mane and Scabbard Slide,' *Central Asiatic Journal*, Pl. III/2 (1957), p. 113.

[40] The cup of Chosroes I is conveniently reproduced in Ghirshman, *Persian Art* (1962), p. 205, Fig. 244.

[41] Reproduced by C. Trever, *Nouveaux plats sasanides de l'Ermitage* (Leningrad, 1937), Pl. III.

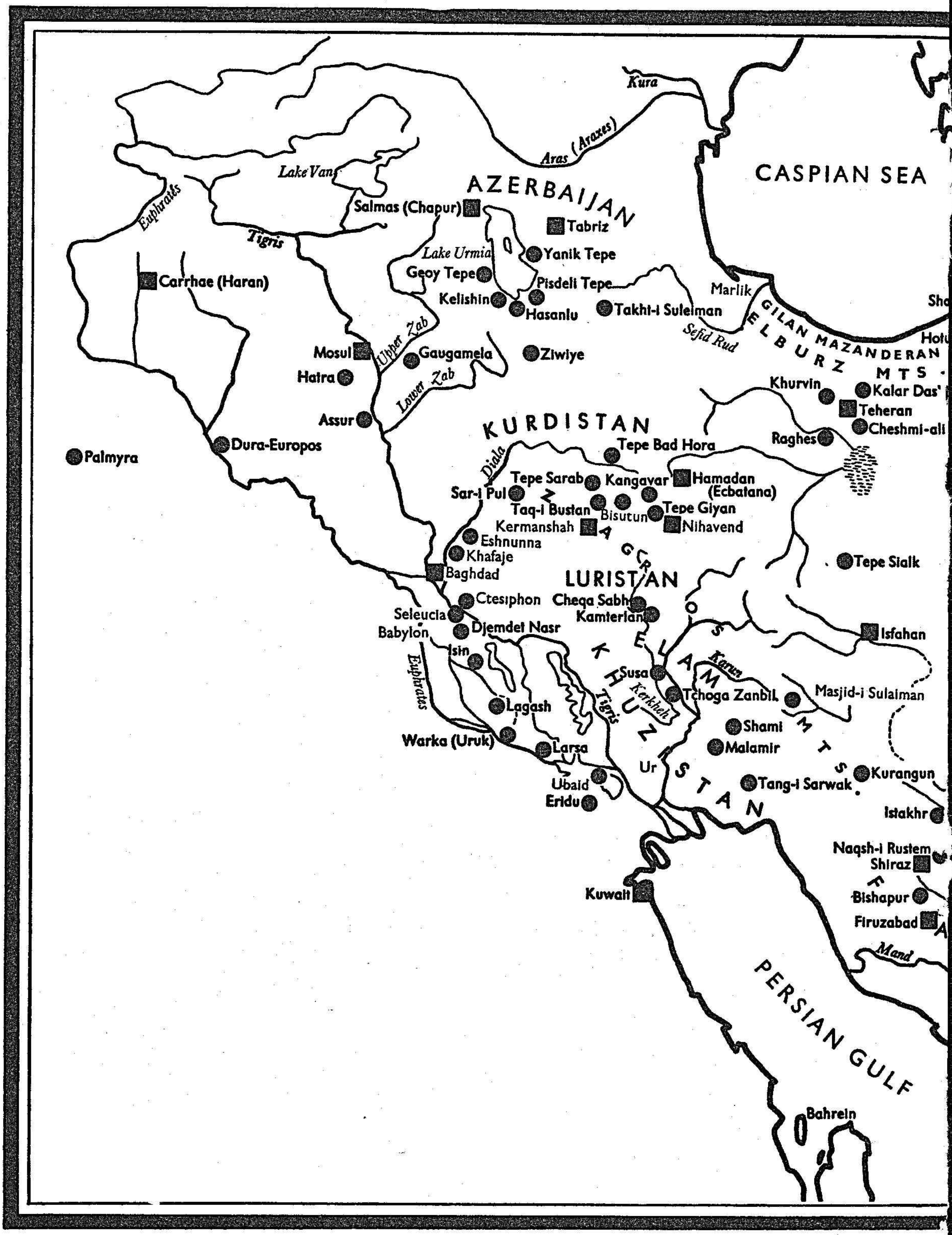
[42] The bowl is reproduced in *Survey* IV, Pl. 215 B.

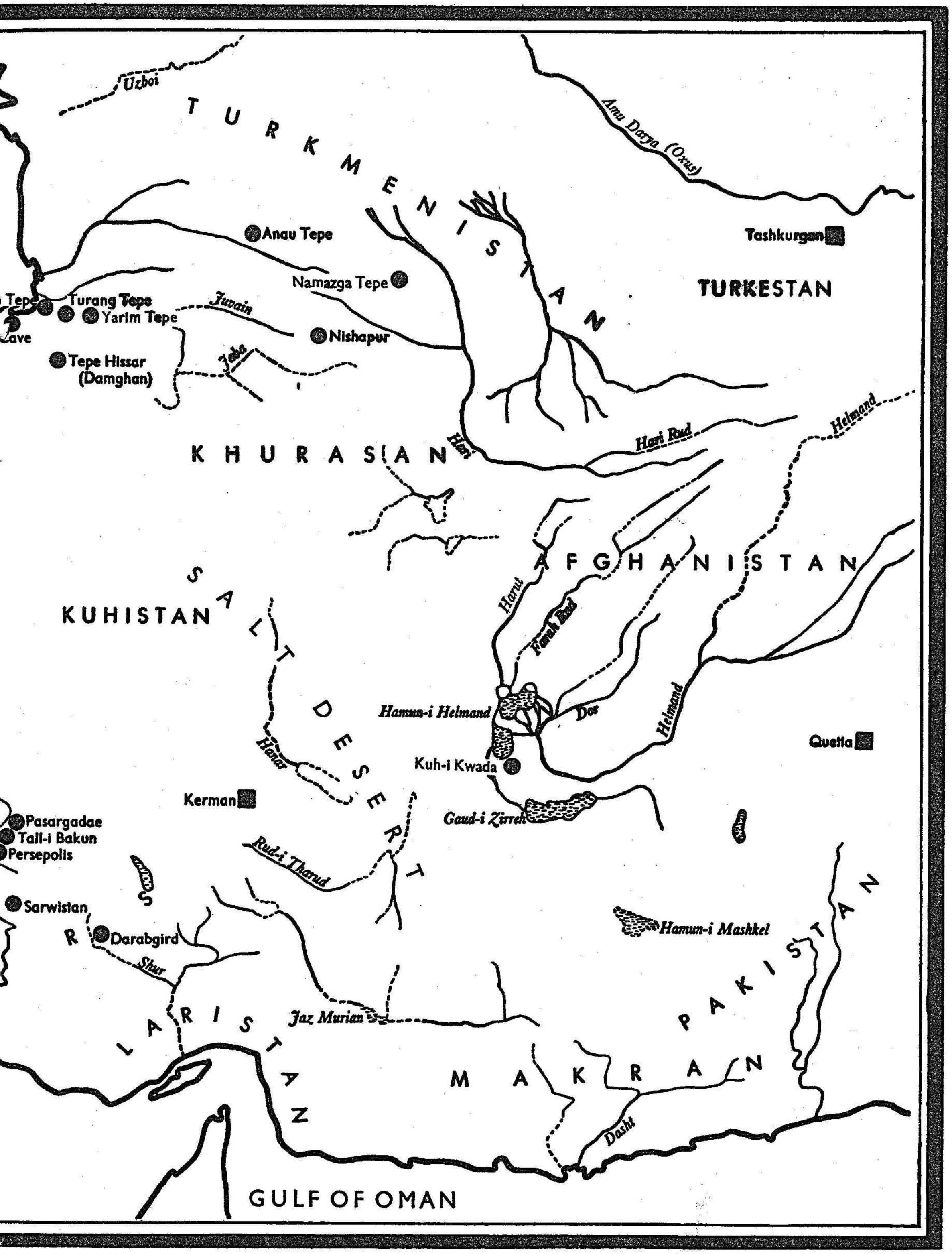
[43] The following remarks on sealings of clay bullae are based on the samples of bullae from Takht-i-Abu Nasr near Shiraz in the Metropolitan Museum, kindly shown to the writer by Mrs. Prudence Oliver Harper, who will publish these sealings in collaboration with R. N. Frye. A good framework for the dating of Sasanian gems seems to have been worked out by V. Lukonin in Y. J. Borisov and V. Lukonin, *Sasanidskie gemii* (State Hermitage Museum, 1963), English summary on pp. 33-35.

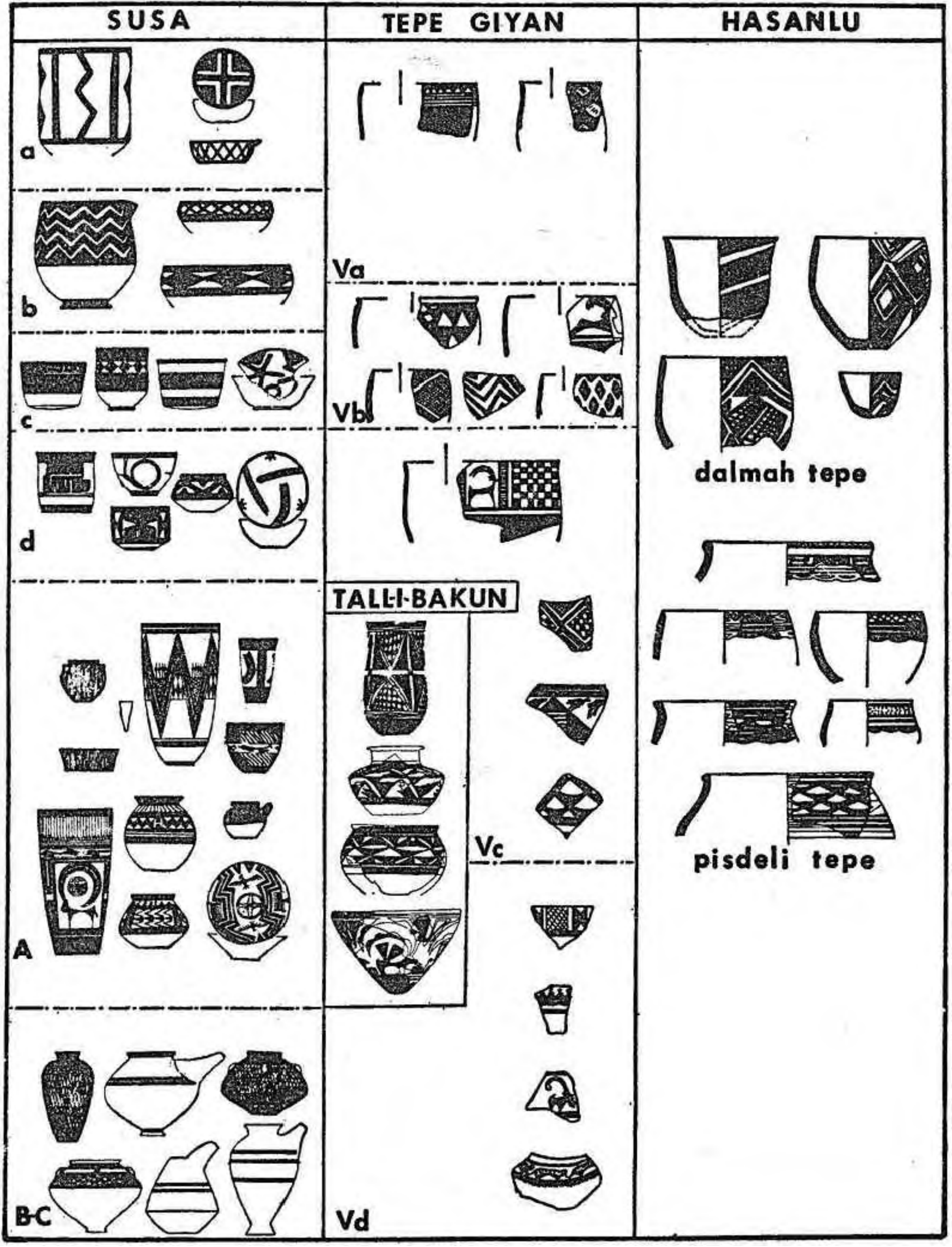
[44] The seal with the goddess Anahita and the female worshipper is in the British Museum (B.M. No. 119358) and is unpublished.

[45] The suggestion that the 'monogram' closely resembles peasant house marks and 'Tamgen' of nomadic peoples was made by Erdmann in *Kunst*, p. 115.

[46] Mrs. P. Oliver Harper published a bronze bowl with a Senmurw; however, the representation of the monster contains reminiscences of earlier renderings of lion griffins. See 'The Senmurw', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Nov. 1961), 95-101.


Kura
Aras (Araxes)
CASPIAN SEA
Lake Van
Euphrates
AZERBAIJAN
Salmas (Chapur)
Tabriz
Tigris
Lake Urmia
Yanik Tepe
Geoy Tepe
Pisdeli Tepe
Carrhae (Haran)
Kelishin
Hasanlu
Takht-i Suleiman
Marlik
GILAN
MAZANDERAN
ELBURZ MTS
Sefid Rud
Upper Zab
Mosul
Gaugamela
Ziwiye
Hatra
Lower Zab
Khurvin
Kalar Das'
Teheran
Assur
KURDISTAN
Raghes
Cheshmi-ali
Dura-Europos
Palmyra
Diala
Tepe Bad Hora
Tepe Sarab
Kangavar
Hamadan (Ecbatana)
Sar-i Pul
Taq-i Bustan
Bisutun
Tepe Giyan
Kermanshah
Nihavend
ZAGROS MTS
Eshnunna
Khafaje
Tepe Sialk
Baghdad
LURISTAN
Ctesiphon
Cheqa Sabh
Kamterlan
Seleucia
Babylon
Djemdet Nasr
Isfahan
Isin
ELAM
Karun
Susa
Kerkheh
Tchoga Zanbil
Masjid-i Sulaiman
Euphrates
Tigris
Lagash
KHUZISTAN
Shami
Malamir
Warka (Uruk)
Larsa
Ur
Kurangun
Ubaid
Tang-i Sarwak
Eridu
Istakhr
Naqsh-i Rustem
Shiraz
Kuwait
Bishapur
Firuzabad
Mand
PERSIAN GULF
Bahrein


Uzboi
TURKMENISTAN
Amu Darya (Oxus)
Anau Tepe
Tashkurgan
Namazga Tepe
TURKESTAN
Tepe
Turang Tepe
Yarim Tepe
Juvain
ave
Nishapur
Tepe Hissar
(Damghan)
Jeba
KHURASAN
Heri
Hari Rud
Helmand
AFGHANISTAN
SALT DESERT
KUHISTAN
Harut
Farah Rud
Hamun-i Helmand
Dos
Helmand
Quetta
Kuh-i Kwada
Hanar
Kerman
Gaud-i Zirreh
Pasargadae
Tall-i Bakun
Persepolis
Rud-i Tharud
S
Sarwistan
R
Darabgird
Shur
Hamun-i Mashkel
PAKISTAN
Jaz Murian
LARISTAN
MAKRAN
Dasht
GULF OF OMAN



Styles of Ancient Iranian Ceramics: PLATE I

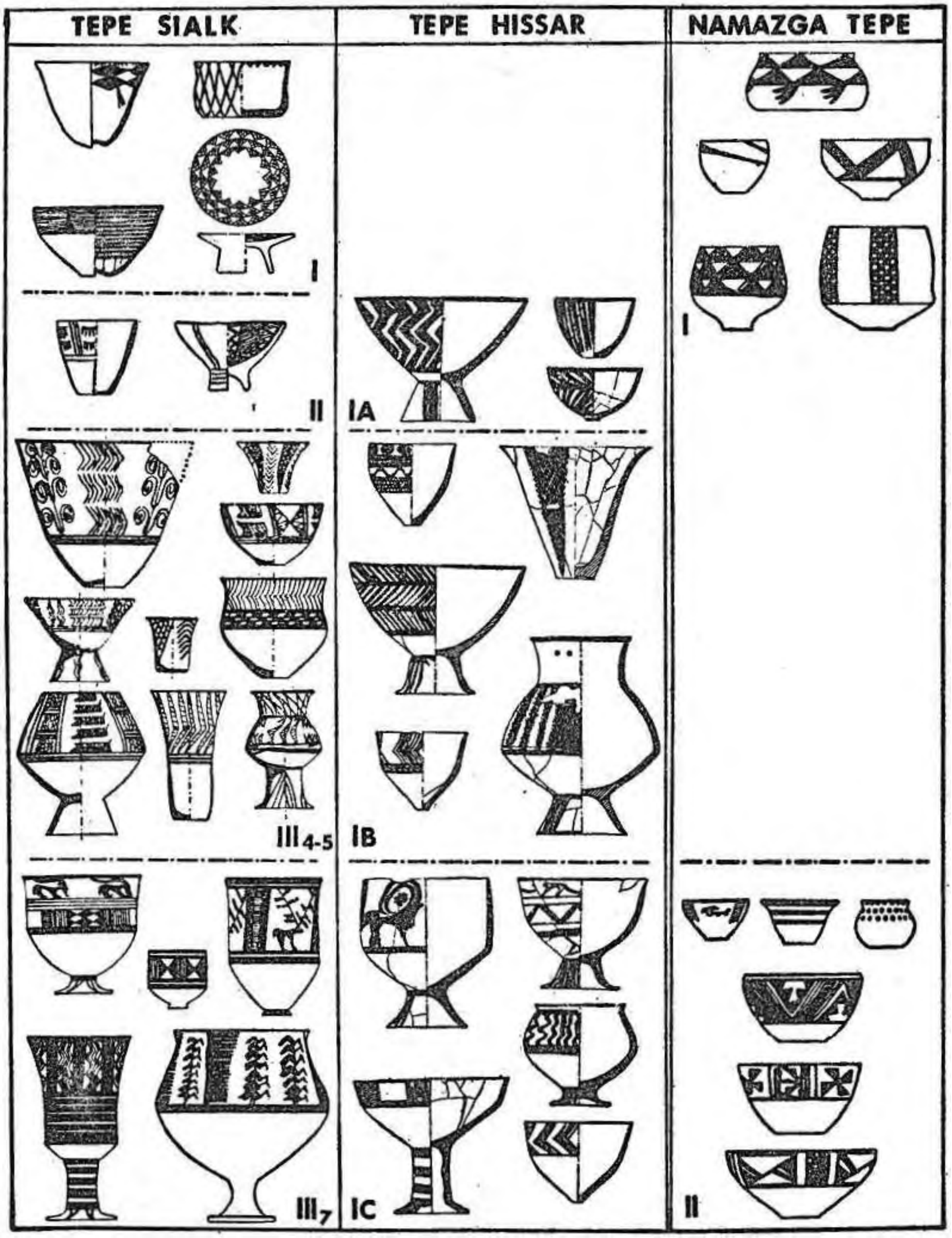

TEPE SIALK
TEPE HISSAR
NAMAZGA TEPE
I
II
III4-5
III7
IA
IB
IC
I
II

PLATE II

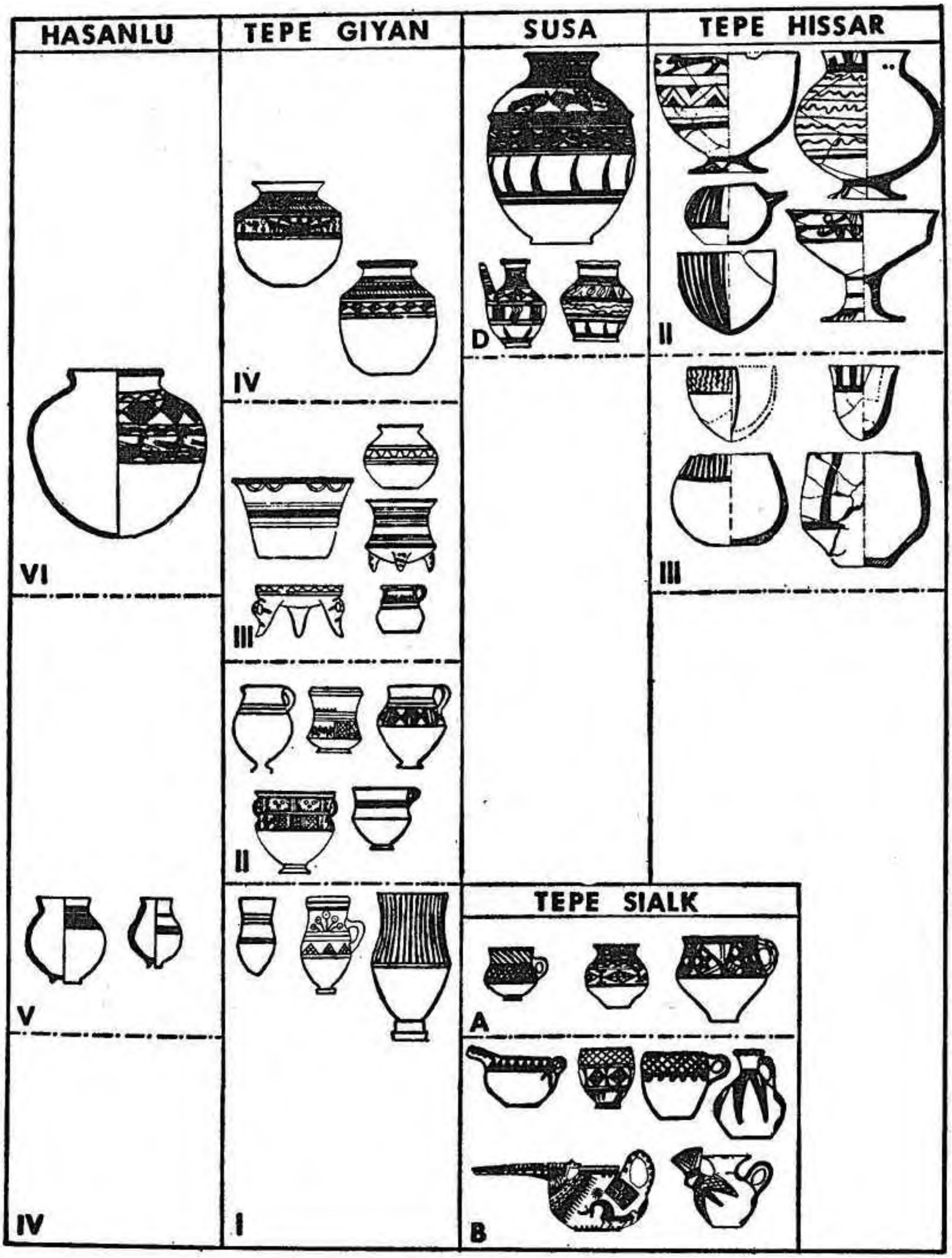

HASANLU
TEPE GIYAN
SUSA
TEPE HISSAR
IV
D
II
VI
III
III
II
TEPE SIALK
V
A
IV
I
B

PLATE III

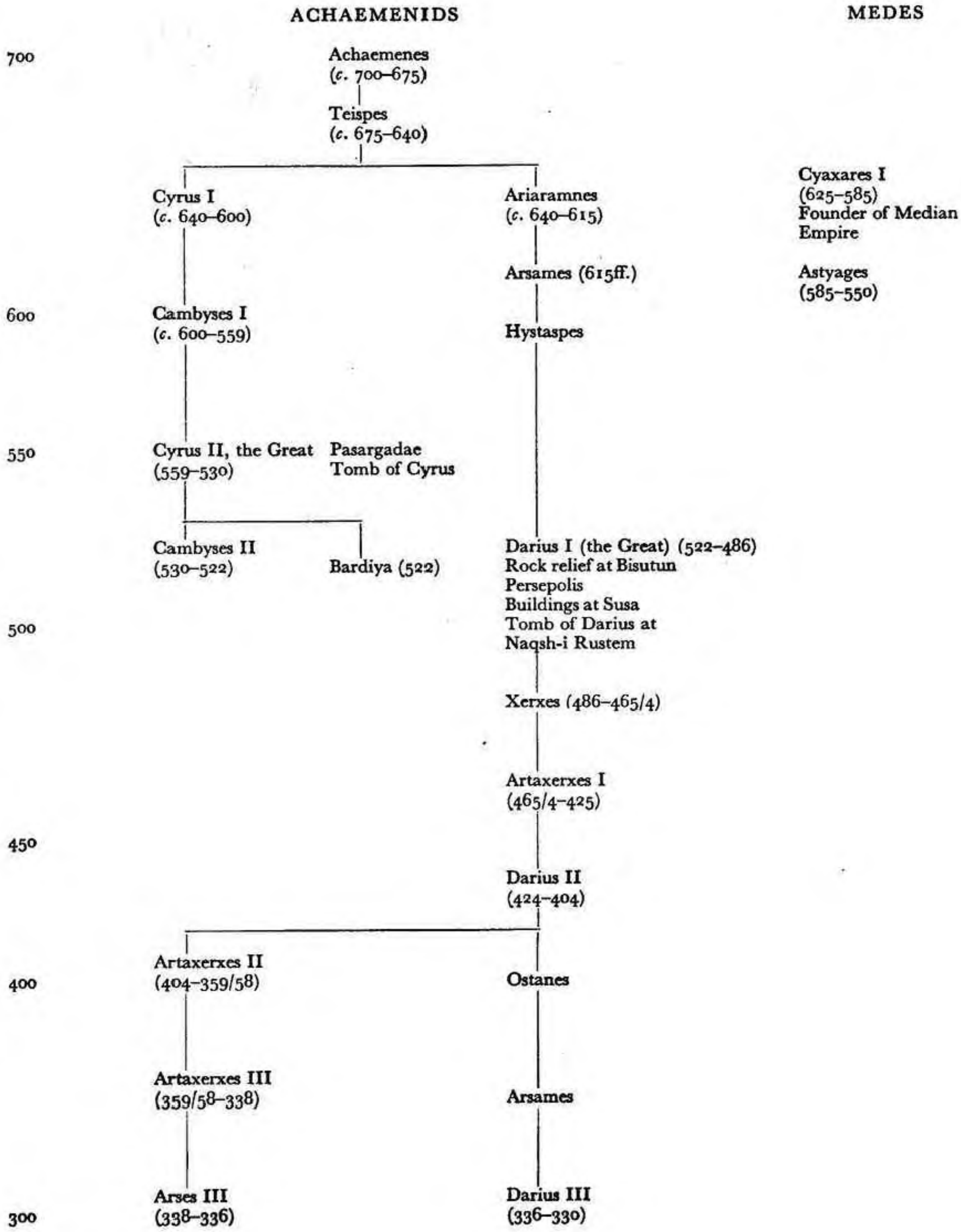
CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

MESOPOTAMIA

	SOUTH	NORTH
6000	UBAID I	HASSUNA PERIOD
5000	UBAID 2	HALAF PERIOD
	Fine painted pottery, spread of villages	
	UBAID 3	Halaf Ubaid
4000		NORTHERN UBAID PERIOD
	UBAID 4	
	Stamp seals, painted pottery, beginnings of irrigation systems, temple architecture	
	URUK PERIOD	GAWRA PERIOD
3500	Early: potter's wheel: grey, red and buff pottery Late: urbanization, writing, cylinder seals	
3000	JEMDET NASR PERIOD	NINEVITE PERIOD
	Painted pottery; widespread use of cylinder and stamp seals	
	FIRST EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD	
	SECOND EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD City States; chariot burials at Kish	
	THIRD EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD 'Royal Cemetery' of Ur	
2500	SARGONIC PERIOD (*c.* 2370–2230) Sargon establishes empire with capital at Agade (Akkad)	
2250	GUTI INVASION and GUTI RULE (*c.* 2230–2120)	
	THIRD DYNASTY OF UR (*c.* 2113–2006) Neo-Sumerian period	
2000	DYNASTIES OF ISIN AND LARSA (*c.* 2020–1794; 2025–1768)	
	FIRST-DYNASTY OF BABYLON (*c.* 1894–1595) Hammurabi (*c.* 1792–1750)	
	KASSITE DYNASTY (*c.* 1590–1150)	MITANNIAN EMPIRE (*c.* 1600–1350)
1500		MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD (*c.* 1350–800)
	Interval of Elamite rule under Kidin-Khutran Second interval of Elamite rule	Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208)
	SECOND DYNASTY OF ISIN Marduk-kabit-ahheshu after 1160	
1000	Marduk-shapik-zeri (*c.* 1080–1068)	NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD
900		Ashurnasirpal (883–859) Tiglathpileser III (744–727)
800		Sargon II (721–705) Sennacherib (704–681)
700		Ashurbanipal (668–627) Fall of Assyria 612
	NEO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRE	
600	(625–539)	
500		

IRAN

SOUTH		NORTH	
SUSIANA	VARIOUS SITES	SOLDUZ	
Agricultural villages, Neolithic stage			
↑ ALI KOSH	TEPE SARAB, HOTU CAVE	HAJJI FIRUZ TEPE (near Hasanlu)	6000
a b } Four phases of painted pottery			5000
c d	TEPE SIAHBID	DALMA TEPE (near Hasanlu)	4000
SUSA A Painted pottery (Style I) Copper tools, stamp seals		PISDELI TEPE (near Hasanlu)	
			3500
SUSA B Potter's wheel	SIALK III; HISSAR I Painted pottery, potter's wheel, copper tools, stamp seals		
SUSA C Urbanization, cylinder seals	SIALK IV Influence from Susa, decline of painted pottery		3000
SUSA D; GIYAN IV Polychrome pottery (Style II) Elaborate tombs with chariot burials First Dynasty of Awan	BRONZE AGE HISSAR II Appearance of burnished grey pottery	BRONZE AGE	2500
Akkadian suzerainty in Susa Fall of Susa probably at hands of Guti	HISSAR III; TURENG TEPE Metal-work; spread of grey pottery	HASANLU VII Painted Orange ware	
Third Dynasty of Ur dominates Susa Destruction of Ur by Elamites			2000
OLD ELAMITE PERIOD Elamite kings of Simash alternately warring and allied with rulers of Isin, Larsa, Eshnunna dynasties		HASANLU VI Painted buff pottery comparable to Chabur ware	
MIDDLE ELAMITE PERIOD Occasional Kassite incursions Elamite expansion Untashgal, c. 20 years ± 1265 B.C. Tchoga Zanbil Kidin-Khutran ± 1230 B.C. Shutruk-Nahunte ± 1170 B.C. Shilhak-Inshushinak ± 1160 B.C.	IRON AGE	IRON AGE HASANLU V (Button base period) contemporary with Sialk V (A); Giyan I	1500
			1000
NEO-ELAMITE PERIOD		HASANLU IV; contemporary with Sialk VI (B); Giyan I Grey ware period	900
		Urartian incursions	800
Susa sacked by		Treasure of	700
Ashurbanipal, c. 640 B.C.	Scythians in Iran	ZIWIYE Median	600
		HASANLU III art	500


ACHAEMENIDS
MEDES
700
Achaemenes
(c. 700–675)
Teispes
(c. 675–640)
Cyrus I
(c. 640–600)
Ariaramnes
(c. 640–615)
Cyaxares I
(625–585)
Founder of Median Empire
Arsames (615ff.)
Astyages
(585–550)
600
Cambyses I
(c. 600–559)
Hystaspes
550
Cyrus II, the Great
(559–530)
Pasargadae
Tomb of Cyrus
Cambyses II
(530–522)
Bardiya (522)
Darius I (the Great) (522–486)
Rock relief at Bisutun
Persepolis
Buildings at Susa
Tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i Rustem
500
Xerxes (486–465/4)
Artaxerxes I
(465/4–425)
450
Darius II
(424–404)
Artaxerxes II
(404–359/58)
400
Ostanes
Artaxerxes III
(359/58–338)
Arsames
Arses III
(338–336)
Darius III
(336–330)
300

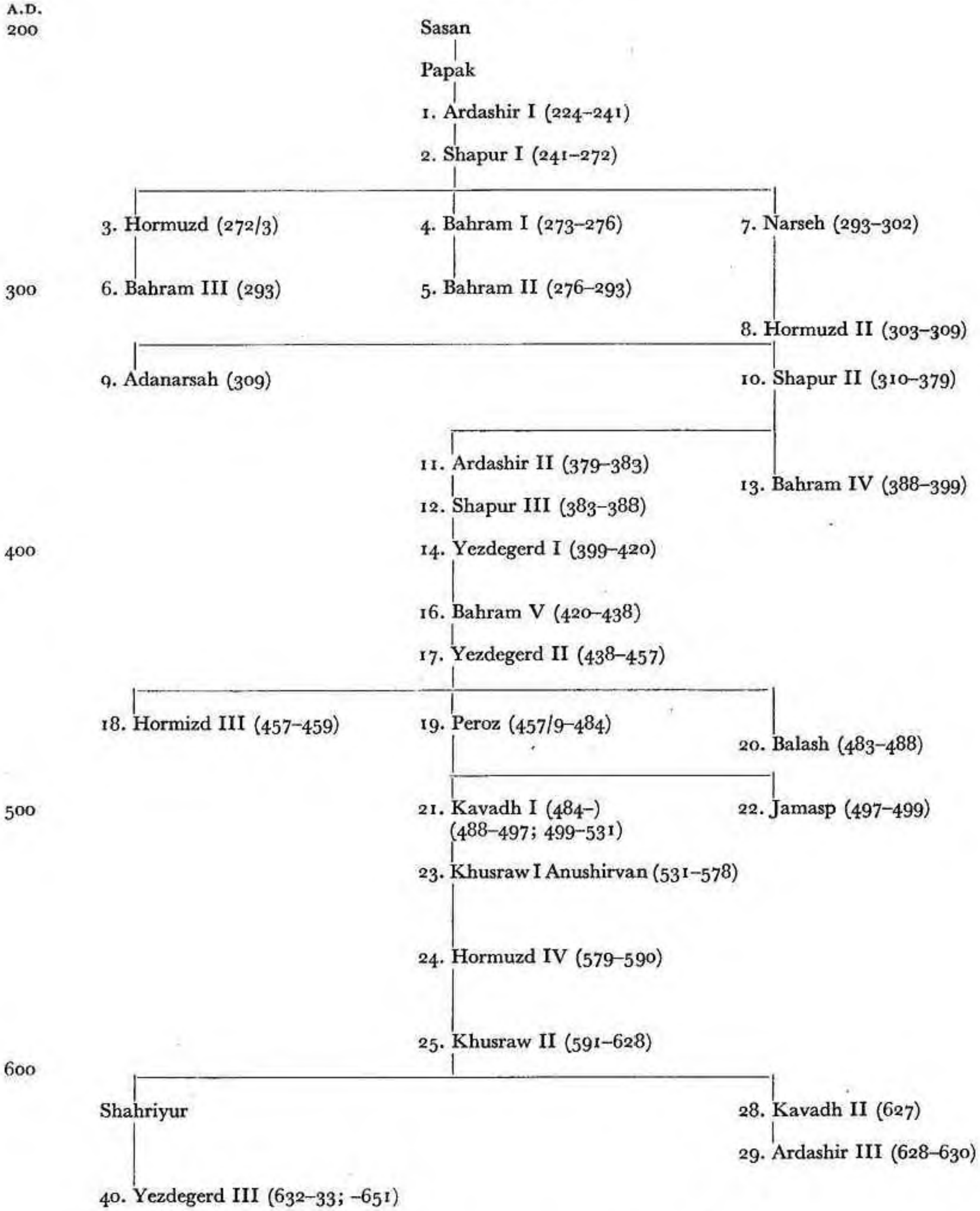
HISTORY OF IRAN	HISTORY OF GREECE	
		700
612 Defeat of Assyrian empire by Medes and Babylonians (Cyaxares and Nabopolasser) Destruction of Nineveh		
		600
	593 Solon's code of laws, Athens ± 560 Establishment of tyranny in Athens by Peisistratos	
550 Cyrus the Great defeats Astyages: Media becomes part of the Achaemenid empire		550
547 Cyrus the Great defeats Croesus of Lydia: Lydia subject to the Persians 539 Cyrus the Great conquers Babylon and its provinces (Syria) 525 Cambyses conquers Egypt 522 Darius the Great suppresses the revolt of Gaumata, the Magian		
513/12 Scythian campaign of Darius; Persian bridge-head in Thrace	510 Fall of the Peisistratids. Athens moves toward democracy	
	c. 500 (or 499)–494 Uprising of Ionians of Asia Minor against Persia	500
	490 Greek victory over Persians at Marathon	
	480 Defeat of Xerxes at Salamis, Themistocles in Athens 479 Defeat of Xerxes' army at Plataea; Greek victory at Mycale	
	449 So-called Peace of Kallias: treaty between Athens and Persia 431–404 Peloponnesian War	450
	424/23 Renewal of peace of Kallias between Athens and Persia (Treaty of Epilykos) 412 Persia begins financing Sparta	
	400–394 Inconclusive war between Sparta and Persia 394 Victory of Persians and Athenians over Sparta at Knidos 386 So-called Peace of Antalkidas: in exchange for the cession of the Greek states of Asia Minor Artaxerxes II guaranteed the autonomy of all other Greek states. 371 Battle of Leuctra; Spartan power broken	400
	337 Congress of Corinth under Philip of Macedon, votes for war with Persia 334–330 Conquest of Achaemenid empire by Alexander the Great;	
	323 Death of Alexander	300

SELEUCIDS

B.C.			
	Seleukos I Nikator (312–281)	312/11 Official accession of Seleukos I	
300	Antiochos I Soter (281–261)	281 Battle at Corupedion. Asia Minor falls under Seleucid domination	
	Antiochos II Theos (261–246)		
		c. 250–245 Satrapy of Bactria, under Diodotos I, asserts independence. Loss of additional eastern regions to the Parthians. Struggles in southern Syria with the Ptolemies	Arsaces probable leader of the Parthians (238–214)
	Seleukos II Kallinikos (246–225) and Antiochos Hierax	Fraternal war. Large portions of Asia Minor lost	
	Seleukos III Soter (225–223		
200	Antiochos III Megas (223–187)	Attempt to restore the early empire to former boundaries 190 Battle at Magnesia. Treaty of Apamea (188) Seleucid forces annihilated Antiochos III surrenders Asia Minor to the Romans	(Ardavan Artabanus) I (214–196)
			Phriapatios Philhellene (191–176)
	Seleukos IV Philopator (187–175)		
	Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–163)	Attempt to salvage the empire	Mithradates I 'Great King', Philhellene (c. 171–138/7)
	Antiochos V Eupator (c. 163–162)		
	Demetrius I Lesser Seleucids	Dynastic quarrels and gradual disintegration of the Seleucid empire	Phraates II (138–124)
100			Artabanus II (124–123) Mithradates II, 'King of Kings' (123–88/87)
	Antiochos XIII Asiaticus (69–64)	63 Pompey deposes the last of the Seleucids and makes Syria a Roman province	Phraates III (70/69–58/57) Mithradates III (58/57–55) Orodes I (56–37) Vologases I (51–77/78)
			Osroes (106/7–130?)
			Vologases III (147/148–191)
			Ardavan V

PARTHIANS		ROMANS	B.C.
		Roman Republic	
			300
		263–241 First Punic war	
c. 250 The Parthians take possession of the Seleucid satrapy, Parthia			
		218–201 Second Punic war	200
209 Expedition of Antiochos the Great against the Parthians and Bactria		192–188 War with Antiochos III in Syria 149–146 Third Punic war 146 Destruction of Carthage	
141 Mithradates I incorporates into his dominion the small eastern provinces which had broken away from the Seleucids Establishment of a military camp opposite the city of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: later Ctesiphon 129 Phraates II vanquishes the Seleucids at Ecbatana			
		90–88 First civil war	100
53 Crassus, in an attempt to conquer the Parthian Empire, is annihilated at Carrhae	First Triumvirate: Caesar, Pompey, Crassus (60–53)		
		50 Second civil war 44 Assassination of Caesar	
	Augustus, first Roman emperor (27 B.C.–A.D. 14) Julio-Claudian dynasty (14–68) Nero (57–68)	Peace with Vollogases I. Armenia is made a 'double protectorate'	
	Vespasian, founder of the Flavian dynasty (69–79) Titus (79–81)	69 'Year of the four emperors' 70 Destruction of Jerusalem 79 Pompeii and Herculaneum destroyed by earthquake	
	Trajan (98–117)	114–117 Parthian war. *c.* 116 Ctesiphon captured by Trajan. Jewish revolt in Oriental provinces Unsuccessful attempt to take Hatra	100
	Hadrian (117–138)	Euphrates accepted as frontier between Parthia and Rome	
	Antoninus Pius (138–161) Marcus Aurelius (161–180)	161–166 Second Parthian war Parthian defeat at Dura Second sack of Ctesiphon 166 The great plague 175 Revolt of Avidius Cassus, governor of Syria 197–202 Septimius Severus campaigns in the East	200
224 Ardashir I, of the Sasanian dynasty, subjugates the Parthians	Septimius Severus (193–211)		

SASANIANS*



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* The sequence of the Sasanian rulers is adapted, with only slight changes in spelling and in some of the dates, from Erdmann, *Kunst*, p. 137.

SASANIAN HISTORY	ROMAN HISTORY	
	Severan emperors (193–235)	
224 A.D. Ardashir I overcomes the Parthian Kingdom. Ctesiphon becomes capital 260 Shapur I captures Valerian 273 Execution of prophet Mani	Soldier emperors (235–251) Claudius II (268–270)	
283 The emperor Carus takes Ctesiphon 296/7 Roman victory over Narse: Armenia and northern Mesopotamia ceded to Rome	Diocletian (284–305) 293 Founding of Tetrarchy Constantine the Great (305–337) 325 Council of Nicaea c. 340 Double rule by sons of Constantine	
	in West:	in East:
	Constans (340–350)	Constantius (340–360)
363 Death of Julian the Apostate in battle against Shapur II. Armenia, northern Mesopotamia restored to Persia	353 Restoration of unified Empire by Constantius Julian the Apostate (361–363) The Pannonian emperors (364–375) Theodosius the Great (379–395) 395 Division of Empire for defense purposes	
	in West:	in East:
	Honorius (395–423)	Arcadius (395–408)
	410 Alaric takes Rome	Theodosius II (408–450)
	Valentinianus III (425–455)	431 Council of Ephesus
	455 Sack of Rome by Vandals	Leo I (457–474)
	476 Romulus (Augustulus)	Zenon (474–491)
484 Defeat of Peroz in East by the Hephthalites		
	493–553 Ostrogoth Kingdom	Anastasius I (491–518)
531 Mazdakite movement suppressed	Theoderic the Great (493–526)	Justinus I (518–527) Justinian I (527–565)
540 Sack of Antioch by Khusraw I and resettling of its inhabitants at Ctesiphon 562 Peace treaty between Khusraw I and Justinian (leasts 50 years) 570 Yemen under Iranian control	Period of migrations of peoples	
608 The first Sasanian armies at Byzantium 614 Sasanians conquer Jerusalem and bring True Cross to Ctesiphon		Phocas (602–610) Heraclius (610–641)
519 Sasanians besiege Egypt 628 Heraclius conquers Dastadjird Khusraw II murdered at Ctesiphon		Arabs break into imperial Byzantine territories
629 Heraclius returns True Cross to Jerusalem 630 Muhammed enters Mecca 632 Yezdegerd III chosen Great King at Istakhr 637 Arabs conquer Ctesiphon 642 Final defeat of Sasanians by Arabs at Battle of Nihavend		Establishment of Greek emperors in Constantinople: end of the Roman Empire

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The abbreviations listed on pp. 228-9 for the notes are also used in the bibliography. A number of books were received after the manuscript for the present book had been completed, among them R. Ghirshman's volume, *The Arts of Ancient Iran*; from its Origins to the Time of Alexander (The Arts of Mankind. Translated from the French. New York, 1964). This and other books are listed in the *Bibliography* although they could not be incorporated in the text. In view of the selective character of this bibliography it does not include all of the publications cited in the notes.

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GLOSSARY

Ahriman

The 'evil spirit', represents the principle of evil, existing since the beginning of the world, when he was created together with his twin, the 'good spirit', by Ahura Mazda. All demons *(daivas)* are under his command. He is the opponent of and ultimately defeated by Ahura Mazda. The name Ahriman is the later form of the older Angra Mainyu or 'evil spirit'.

Ahura Mazda

The 'wise lord', the highest divine power according to the religious philosophy of Zoroaster (Zarathushtra), the founder of the religion which bears his name. Ahura Mazda is the 'great' though not the only 'god' of the Achaemenids and to them he is the creator of the physical world. He is also characterized as powerful, wise and just. As incarnation of the principle of good he is the opponent of Ahriman, the 'evil spirit'. To Zoroaster, Ahura Mazda exercises his power through the medium of a retinue of divine entities which, in the later tradition, show a resemblance to angel-like beings. He may be represented in art as a human figure in profile issuing from a winged ring. This symbol frequently appears above the representation of the Achaemenid kings. Later, his name is Ohrmazd.

ambulatory

Passage-way around a cella.

Anahita

Goddess of the waters—as seems indicated by her triple qualification, 'humid, strong, without stain'. As fertility goddess she may have been partly identified with the Elamite and/or Babylonian goddess Nana and also with Artemis.

apotropaic

Possession of or connection with the power to ward off evil.

barrel vault

A vault that is semicircular in section.

barsom

A bundle of twigs which is used in the Zoroastrian ritual. At present small metal sticks are used instead of twigs.

Bes

The name *Bes* refers to a whole group of Egyptian demons usually shown with a broad grimacing face and protruding tongue and with crooked legs. A head-dress of feathers often adds dignity to the figures, whose general appearance seems to have been considered humorous. Some of them were thought to have the power to ward off evil from women in childbirth. Bes figures often occur in amulets and other renderings together with other protective demons, especially in the first millennium B.C.

bitumen

A member of the petroleum family used in Mesopotamia as waterproof coating for brick-built drains, etc. Bitumen was partly obtained from mountainous regions in the form of rock asphalt. Such asphalt was worked into carved vessels and seals. The largest quantity of bitumen, however, came from the seepages situated in Mesopotamia and in the Susiana.

cloisonné

A technique in which designs are formed by cells or cloisons of flat wire. Small colourful stones like lapis lazuli or pieces of glass paste were shaped to fit snugly into these cloisons which are never filled with enamel in ancient western Asiatic jewellery. Since the true French cloisonné has exclusively enamel in the cloisons, the use of the term for the ancient technique is open to question.

cylinder seal

A cylindrical seal-stone engraved with a figured or ornamental design and often with an inscription written in cuneiform characters. Seals were used to authenticate records on clay tablets and to secure property in sealed jars, baskets, boxes or rooms. As a rule cylinders were perforated lengthwise and attached to a bracelet or necklace. Often they were set between caps of gold, silver, copper or bronze. Early Iranian cylinder seals are made of steatite, marble or a composition, probably faience. Later in the second millennium B.C. they were made of glass, faience, lapis lazuli, carnelian and agate. Achaemenid cylinders are usually made of blue or colourless chalcedony or pinkish limestone, though other semi-precious stones are also used.

Diadochi

The generals of Alexander the Great who fought over his empire and finally divided it up. Seleucus (Seleukos) obtained the Asiatic countries.

drill

Abbreviated reference to the bow-drill. In the bow-drill a borer consisting of a stick with a metal point is attached to the string of a bow and rotated by moving the bow back and forth.

Elymais
Name given to Elam in Achaemenid Persia.

*faience**
'Ancient faience is a composite material consisting of a core and a surface glaze. The core consists of finely powdered quartz grains cemented together by fusion with small amounts of alkali or lime or both, and is usually colourless though impurities have occasionally tinted it brown or grey.'

earthenware
The term is used for clay, a common earth of various colours (a hydrous aluminium silicate generally mixed with various minerals like sand, powdered quartz, iron oxides etc.), baked at a temperature not much above 800° C. The resulting pottery is porous and needs glazing to hold liquids.

Egyptian Blue
An alternate term is 'Vestorian blue'. It is an artificial compound probably made of copper-blue glass which was powdered, mixed with a binder to form a paste, pressed into a mould and fired at a temperature lower than that at which the original glass had been fired but sufficiently high to cause the paste to be transformed into a solid mass. The compound is under study by F. R. Matson: see note IX/10.

*glaze**
'The glaze consists of a pre-made soda-lime-quartz isotropic glass applied to a premoulded core in powdered form as a slip. This glaze has usually been coloured blue or green by addition during fusion of traces of copper compounds.' In Iran and Mesopotamia the glaze has often disintegrated due to the corrosive action of the soil and only the colourless quartz core remains.

*glaze and glass**
'Ancient glass is a vitreous, isotropic material consisting of a soda-lime or potash-lime silicate. In other words it contains the same ingredients as those of faience but in differing proportions . . . Depending on the proportion of powdered glaze to powdered quartz for making "glassy faience", and the temperature and duration of firing, it will be appreciated that materials will result which will range in composition and appearance from that of faience to true glass.'

griffin
A composite monster with features of eagle and lion.

hypogeum
Part of a building situated beneath the surface of the ground, especially a wholly subterranean construction such as a group of tombs.

ibex
A species of wild goat distinguished by the sabre-shaped backward curving horns, almost a yard long, marked on the front by bold cross-ridges which continue toward the back and look like a series of knobs if seen from the side. The males, which weigh up to 220 lb., spend the summer in precipitous and inaccessible mountain heights; the females and their young remain at somewhat lower altitudes. The hunt of the ibex requires skill and courage. In the Middle Ages of Europe every part of the ibex was thought to have medicinal value.

Inanna-Ishtar
The Sumerian goddess Inanna, patron goddess of Uruk, associated with animal and human reproduction, was equated by the Akkadians with their goddess Ishtar, who shared with Inanna aspects concerned with procreation but who was also a goddess of battle and the principal astral deity. A full description of Ishtar's complex nature, however, is impossible.

investiture
The ceremony of investing a man with the insignia of his office.

iwan
A barrel-vaulted rectangular room closed in the back and completely open in front, usually looking upon a court.

jamb
Side-post or side of a doorway or window.

korymbos
Greek word for the uppermost top or peak, as of a mountain, here applied to the topknot of curls worn by the Sasanians.

lotus
Plant of the water-lily family, the forms of which were used in decorative patterns by the artists of ancient Egypt. In the course of the second millennium B.C. lotus patterns penetrated into the art of western Asia.

Mithra

Iranian god of the 'contract' (promise, friendship), prosperity (cattle, pastures), victory in battle and also of light and the sun. This last aspect is particularly prominent in the religion known as Mithraism during the first centuries of the Roman Empire.

moufflon

The Asiatic moufflon (*ovis orientalis*) of Cyprus and south-western Asia is a wild sheep with large horns, each forming an almost complete circle. The females are hornless. The coat of the moufflon resembles that of the goat, being hairy and having only woolly underfur, especially in winter.

Neolithic stage

A stage of human development after the Old Stone Age, or Paleolithic stage, and before the stage when metal began to be used, the Chalcolithic stage. The term is generally applied to the early village cultures.

lapis lazuli

A massive, compact, rare blue mineral which commonly contains small quantities of pyrite. It is also called lazurite. The best quality comes from north-eastern Afghanistan but it is also found at Lake Baikal in Siberia.

niello

A black alloy, silver sulphide, used for inlays, etc.

omphalos

The Greek word for navel or any comparable raised boss like a boss in the middle of a shield. A round stone in the temple of Apollo at Delphi was called *omphalos* as marking the middle point of the earth.

pectoral

An ornament worn on the breast. The term is often used for a flat gold ornament suspended from the neck at a height which would make the term gorget seem more appropriate.

pendentive

Curved sections of masonry which form the transition from the top of the walls of a square or rectangular hall to the circular base for a cupola or dome.

Philhellene

One who loves Greece or the Greeks.

pisé

A wall in superimposed courses of mud mixed with straw or grass to prevent cracking. The mud mix is moulded by the builder with his hands; no forms are used. After each course the wall probably had to dry for a day. Sucn walls are still built today in Iraq and Iran and are called *tauf* in Arabic, which is less misleading than *pisé* which suggests pressing the mud between built forms (see R. J. Braidwood, *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 31. University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 40).

psalia

Snaffle-bit.

radio-carbon dating

Dating based on carbon-14 (C^{14}) or radio-carbon, a carbon isotope which is naturally radioactive. Carbon-14 is assimilated by all living organisms during their lifetime. The amount of carbon-14 taken in balances that which disintegrates in the tissues. When death occurs, assimilation is halted. Disintegration, however, (that is, the decay of radioactivity), continues. One assumes that the sample to be dated, which is usually taken from an ancient plant such as a tree, originally had the same carbon-14 activity as the carbon of a living tree used as reference sample. These measured values, i.e. the radioactivity of the modern reference sample and the radioactivity of the sample being dated, are used with the half-life of carbon-14 to calculate the age of the sample. The half-life is the time that it takes for half of any given quantity of a radioactive substance to disintegrate. The present best estimate of the half-life value is 5730 years. (Information obtained from Elisabeth K. Ralph, to whom I owe reference to an article in which the new half-life estimate is given: H. Godwin, 'Half-life of Radio-carbon,' *Nature*, 195 (Sept. 8, 1962), p. 984.)

repoussé work

In the strictest sense the word applies only to sheet metal punched from the back. The term for work done in the front of the sheet would be chasing. In general, however, repoussé is used for all sheet metal work in relief produced by punches and hammers. There are three types of punches: blunt chisels for tracing, bossing tools with rounded working faces, and chasing tools with smooth, flat working faces. The metal which is being worked is usually rested on a bed of some slightly yielding substance such as pitch or wood.

rhyton

A Greek word derived from *rysis*, a flow or stream. The term is used for vessels in the shape of a horn, an animal head or an entire animal, which have an opening that permits a stream of water to flow out of the vessel. Frequently the term is misused for cups, which do not have such an opening.

satrap
Title of a Persian viceroy or governor of a province.

scenae frons
Architectural façade erected before the high back wall of a Roman theatre.

Senmurw
Monster which is part lion, part dog with bird's wings and tail.

situla
A cylindrical bucket.

squinch
A section of vaulted masonry which bridges an angle of a rectangular room and contributes toward the creation of a circular base for a dome.

standard
An emblem raised on a pole. The term is specifically used for composite bronzes of Luristan type, although their original mounting is unknown.

steatite
Massive, talc-rich rock, usually impure.

stucco
Plaster, carved or moulded and often painted, frequently used as an ornamental and protective covering for mud-brick walls. (Chemical analyses to arrive at a more precise determination of the consistency of stucco are in process.)

Tchahar Taq
Four arches, often supporting a cupola over an altar.

tournette
A device by which the potter could easily bring every side of the vessel within his reach. This device could range from a mat or wooden platform to a flat stone which may have been occasionally pivoted.

Verethraghna
God who stands for victory and success in battle.

ziggurat
Mesopotamian name for the temple tower. From about 2100 B.C. onward the ziggurats were staged towers built of rectangular blocks of mud-brick masonry.

Zoroaster
Founder of a religion which flourished in Iran. His Iranian name is Zarathushtra, of which Zoroaster is the Western (Greek) form. He was probably born around 620 B.C., in all likelihood in eastern Iran. His preachings are commonly known as the Gathas; they are part of the canonical scriptures of the Zoroastrians known as Avesta. Ahura Mazda is the highest divine power to Zarathushtra's mind. See also *Ahriman*.

* Definitions of terms marked by an asterisk are taken from Stone, 'The Use and Distribution of Faience . . .' (see note V/47, pp. 38-39). The definitions of terms pertaining to Persian religion have been contributed by M. J. Dresden.

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